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CHATEAUBRIAND AND ENGLISH LITERATURE.

CHATEAUBRIAND AND ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction. p. 2

CHAPTER I

What England contributed to Chateaubriand's
formation... . p. 6

La première jeunesse. Le Voyage en
Amérique. L'exil à Londres.

CHAPTER II

The Influence of Milton on Chateaubriand. . . . p. 37

Actual borrowings from Paradise Lost in
Les Natchez and Les Martyrs. Criticism
of Milton in the Génie du Christianisme,
Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe, Essai sur la
littérature anglaise. Translation of
Paradise Lost 1802-1836.

CHAPTER III

The Influence of Ossian on Chateaubriand. . . . p.127

Borrowings from Ossian. Criticism of
Ossian.

CHAPTER IV

L'Essai sur la littérature anglaise. p.167

Conclusion. p.215

Bibliography. p.220

Vita.

INTRODUCTION

Many studies on the growth of intellectual relations between France and England have been written.¹ It is a well known fact that the ignorance in 17th century France of things English was followed in the 18th century by a period of increasing curiosity and interest. The first evidence of the intellectual relations between the two countries is to be sought in the Protestant refugees who made their way to England early in the 18th century. Later in the century, the visits of Prévost, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau to England brought to France much information about the literature, philosophy, politics, and language of the English.

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Another impetus was given to this vogue by the "Emigration" brought about by the French Revolution. For more than ten years many members of the aristocracy and many of those who because of the political troubles had to leave France found a refuge in England. The literary history of the "Emigration" is still to be written, but enough work has been done to enable us to understand the part played by the "émigrés" in the intellectual relations between the two countries. The most recent study of this subject is M. Baldensperger's "Chateaubriand et l'émigration française à Londres" which appeared in the R.H.L., 1907, and in book form in the Etudes d'histoire littéraire, 1907-1910. In this article we find that Montlosier, Lally-Tollendal, Rivarol, Delille, de Jaucourt, Fontanes, Malouet, de Panat, Peltier, Mallet du Pan, and Chateaubriand, were among the "émigrés". Two of this number, Fontanes and Delille, wrote very creditable verse. Peltier through his Journal kept in touch with France and kept the French public informed of the literary affairs of his fellow exiles. Malouet entertained the assembled members of the "émigration" with tales of the colonies in which he had lived. Dulaeu was their publisher and book-dealer par excellence. By far the most talented individual in this group was Chateaubriand. He was prepared to understand England by his studies, which had been

undertaken during the period of great interest in all things English, and by his contact with English speaking people in the course of his journey to America in 1791. His sojourn in England from 1793 - 1800 was long; but his contact with this country is not limited to this stay, ^{for} since he returned to London in 1822 as ambassador. Finally one of his last works is a study of ~~the~~ English literature.

The contact with England is certain. The influence, on the other hand, has not up to the present moment been studied in detail. All critics have stated the fact that there was English influence. Dick, Koehler, Roberts, and Telleen have dwelt more particularly on the influence of Milton and have shown that several of his works contributed something to Chateaubriand's Les Natchez and Les Martyrs. Hofheinz has included in his dissertation Chateaubriand's criticism of Milton. Ossian's influence on Chateaubriand has been studied most recently by W. Van Tieghem, who has concluded, and rightly, that its evidence in ^{Les} Martyrs and Les Natchez lies in the general atmosphere. ^h Though he arrives at correct conclusions, ^M Van Tieghem's work is not detailed, because this subject is not strictly speaking his own. M. Dick, on the other hand, has made a far more detailed study of Milton's influence.

Of all the discussions of this subject, Mr. Dick's is the most extensive. Although he has pointed out many interesting borrowings from Chateaubriand, his work contains occasional mistakes, is not complete and, worst of all, his attitude towards Chateaubriand is far from being sympathetic. Borrowings, reminiscences, and imitations are classified under the too simple heading of "plagiats" and his study is too often a violent personal attack upon the writer of the Génie du Christianisme.

To what extent, then, did Chateaubriand know and appreciate English literature, and to what extent was he subject to its influence, and did he find in it inspiration? This is the subject of our study.

CHAPTER I.

Before studying the influence of English literature on Chateaubriand and his criticisms of it, ~~we~~ might attempt to ascertain, as far as possible just what England contributed to his formation.

La première jeunesse

Even before Chateaubriand regularly attended a school, it was decided that he was to study the English language (Cf. M. d'O.-T., I, p 47) "Quelques notions de dessin, de langue anglaise, d'hydrographie et de mathématiques, parurent plus que suffisantes à l'éducation d'un garçonnet destiné d'avance à la rude vie d'un marin." Later, when it was time for him to go away to school, his mother planned to send him to the collège de Dol where he was to study, among other things, English. M. d'O.-T., I, p 65, "Elle proposa donc de me mettre dans un collège où j'apprendrais les mathématiques, le dessin les armes et la langue anglaise." In June, 1777, he set out for Dol, where he stayed until 1781, studying those subjects prescribed by his father and mother in addition to the classics, which were soon his favorite subjects and remained so until 1784. On his return to Combourg according to M. Giraud (Nouvelles études sur Chateaubriand, p. 42, Note 2.) he found

his sisters reading "Clarisse" and probably followed their lead. Chateaubriand himself adds Ossian to the list of books read by him at this period. M.d'O.-T., II, p. 208, "Je reconnais que dans ma première jeunesse Ossian, Werther, les Rêveries du promeneur solitaire, les études de la nature ont pu s'apparenter à mes idées." He tells us of his knowledge of Ossian in a letter to Fontanes (Correspondance Générale, I, p.34), December 22, 1800: "Enthousiaste d'Ossian comme un jeune homme que j'étais alors, il m'a fallu passer plusieurs années à Londres parmi les gens de lettres pour être entièrement désabusé." Van Tieghem (Ossian en France, II, p. 183) makes the date of this reading still earlier by saying he read Ossian "probablement dans Le Tourneur et peu de temps après l'apparition (1777) de cette traduction."

At the end of two years spent in reading and idleness, he thought of going to America or India, but, changing his mind, accepted a commission in the French army. As his military duties from 1786 to 1791 were but few, he again spent much of his time at his books. Of Chateaubriand's occupation during this period D. Giraud says (Nouvelles études sur Chateaubriand p. 53) "Assurément aussi il complète ses lectures d'oeuvres étrangères

s'il connaissait déjà ce qui me paraît probable, Ossian et Werther, Richardson, et Shakespeare, il découvre Thomson et Gray, Young et Gessner." Later, in 1791, in contemplating a trip to America, Chateaubriand read with his friend M. Malesherbes tales of different English travelers and navigators. At the time of his departure for America in the same year Chateaubriand was acquainted with certain English literary works, but had no speaking knowledge of the language. How was he going to increase his knowledge of the language and the literature by his journey to America?

Le Voyage en Amérique.

On his way to America in 1791, Chateaubriand met and became the comrade of Tulloch, a young Englishman¹

¹ In his M. d'O.-T. (I, p.333 ff.) Chateaubriand adds: "F. T. avait servi dans l'artillerie; peintre, musicien, mathématicien, il parlait plusieurs langues. L'abbé Nagot supérieur des Sulpiciens, ayant rencontré l'officier anglican, en fit un catholique: il emmenait son néophyte à Baltimore.

Je m'accoutai avec T.: comme j'étais alors profond philosophe je l'invitais à revenir chez ses parents. Le spectacle que nous avions sous les yeux le transportait d'admiration. Nous nous levions la nuit, lorsque le pont était abandonné à l'officier de quart, et à quelques matelots qui fumaient leur pipe en silence...." Together with Tulloch he was chosen by the captain to go ashore, when their vessel was compelled to stop off the Azores. In the M.d'O.-T. (I, p.353) Chateaubriand concludes the Tulloch episode by saying that he had received a letter, which he quotes, from F.T. bearing the date of April 12, 1822. In this letter he recalls their voyage to America and the friendship formed at that time. Tulloch had not become a priest, but had married and was living in London when Chateaubriand returned to that town as ambassador.

endowed with imagination and "épris de la nature."
 (Essai sur les Révolutions, p. 604 Note). On the
 island of St. Pierre off the coast of Newfoundland
 "T. s'imaginait être le barde de Cona; et en sa qualité
 de demi-Ecossais, il se mettait à déclamer des passages
 d'Ossian, pour lesquels il improvisait des airs sauvages".
 (Essai sur les Révolutions, p. 604 Note.) Of this
 same time Chateaubriand also writes: "Je me souviens que
 nous (T. et lui) passâmes toute une après-dînée à élever
 quatre grosses pierres en mémoire d'un malheureux célébré
 dans un petit épisode à la manière d'Ossian." (Essai sur
 les Révolutions, P. 605 Note.).

Upon his arrival in America, Chateaubriand pro-
 ceeded at once to Philadelphia to see the president of the
 new republic. Chateaubriand speaks as follows concerning
 this interview: (M. d'O.-T., I p. 357 ff.) "Je lui présentai
 ma lettre (a letter of introduction from the marquis de
 Rouërie) en silence; il l'ouvrit, courut à la signature qu'il
 lut tout haut avec exclamation: 'Le colonel Armand!' C'est
 ainsi qu'il l'appelait et qu'avait signé le marquis de la
 Rouërie.

Nous nous assîmes. Je lui expliquai tant bien que
 mal le motif de mon voyage. Il me répondait par monosyllabes
 anglais et français, et m'écoutait avec une sorte d'étonnement;

je m'en aperçus, et je lui dis avec un peu de vivacité:
 "Mais il est moins difficile de découvrir le passage du
 nord-ouest que de créer un peuple comme vous l'avez fait -
 Well, well, young man! Bien, Bien, jeune homme", s'écria-t-
 il en me tendant la main. Il m'invita à dîner pour le
 jour suivant, et nous nous quittâmes." This is the author's
 account of the conversation. M. Chinard in L'exotisme
 américain dans l'oeuvre de Chateaubriand (p. 46-7) has shown
 that the very banality of Washington's words prove their
 authenticity, "mais il est très probable que la conversation
 entre les deux interlocuteurs en resta là." This episode,
 then, does not prove anything as far as Chateaubriand's
 knowledge of English is concerned.

From Philadelphia Chateaubriand went to New York
 and thence by boat to Albany. On the way he seems to have
 mingled with his fellow passengers. He gives his impression
 of the journey in M. d'O.-T. (I, p.367-8. Cf also E.I.A. p.209
 Note 3.) In **A**lbury, he sought out a certain dealer in furs
 by the name of Swift, to whom he had a letter of introduction.
 Swift discouraged him in his desire to discover a passage to
 the north west but secured for him a guide who was to take
 him as far as Niagara. It was probably in the neighborhood
 of Niagara that Chateaubriand fell in with the sacher of the

Onandagas with whom conversation was easy because the sachem spoke English and understood French. (M. d'O.-T., I, p.378.)

From the statements cited we may conclude that Chateaubriand had added considerably to his knowledge of Ossian and had acquired some ability to speak the English language as a result of his stay in America, which had been shortened by the news of the fall of the monarchy. As a loyal adherent to the royalist party, he hastened home ^{in Dec. 1791} to do his share in the king's army. But when this army was defeated and Chateaubriand was recovering from illness contracted during his service, he made his way to Jersey and thence, by means of a small loan from his uncle, to England.

L'exil à Londres.

At first, Chateaubriand was thrown constantly into the companionship of the poor "émigrés." He, himself, was soon without funds and therefore in order to earn a living planned to write an historical essay. Peltier, a more fortunate fellow-countryman, encouraged him in this endeavor and arranged for publication with Baylis. In the preparation of this work (M. d'O.-T., II, p.114) he borrowed some books from the latter; others he bought. He spent much of his leisure with Hingant, who also "cultivait les lettres" (M. d'O.-T., II, p.114), walking to Westminster or Kensington and discussing

politics and Chateaubriand's work. As the writing of this essai was a slow affair, there followed a period of great poverty in the garret off Mary-le-Bone street. In M. d'O.-T. (II, p.123) he says: "Nous tenions des conseils dans notre chambre haute, nous raisonnions sur la politique, nous nous occupions des cancons de l'émigration. Le soir, nous allions chez nos tantes et cousines danser, après les modes enrubanées et les chapeaux faits." M. Baldensperger adds the names of Milton and Shakespeare to the subjects discussed at these evening gatherings. ("Chateaubriand et l'émigration française à Londres" in R.H.L. 1907, p. 600) On the evenings spent alone, "le malheureux", to whom a chapter of the Essai sur les Révolutions is devoted, and whom M. le Braz (Au pays d'exil de Chateaubriand, p.100-1) takes to be Chateaubriand himself, "s'attendrit sur les maux imaginaires des Clarisse, des Clémentine, des Héloïse, des Cécilie". Finally, at the end of his resources, Chateaubriand was rescued by Peltier who, says Chateaubriand (M.d'O.-T., II, p.125), "avait lu dans un journal de Yarmouth qu'une Société¹ d'antiquaires s'allait occuper d'une histoire du comté de Suffolk, et qu'on demandait^{des} manuscrits français du douzième siècle de la collection de Camden. Le parson, ou ministre, de Becdes, était à la tête de l'entreprise, c'était à lui qu'il se

1

M. Le Braz has proved the fictitious character of this society.

fallait adresser..... je partis pour Beccles avec quelque argent que me prêta Deboffe, sur l'assurance de ma reprise de l'Essai. Je changeai mon nom, qu'~~aucun~~ Anglais ne pouvait prononcer, en celui de Combours qu'avait porté mon frère..... Descendu à l'auberge, je présentai au ministre du lieu une lettre de Deboffe, fort estimé dans la librairie anglaise, laquelle lettre me recommandait comme un savant du premier ordre. Parfaitement accueilli, je vis tous les gentlemen du canton, et je rencontrai deux officiers de notre marine royale qui donnaient des leçons de français dans le voisinage.

Je repris des forces; les courses que je faisais à cheval me rendirent un peu de santé..... M. de Combours était invité à toutes les parties. Je dus à l'étude le premier adoucissement de mon sort. ... Les femmes étaient charmées de rencontrer un français pour parler français." This is what Chateaubriand says himself of his departure to Beccles. M. Le Braz in his book entitled Au pays d'exil de Chateaubriand has shown that Chateaubriand came to Suffolk, not to collect material for the history of Suffolk, but to teach at Brightley's School and at The Fauconberge School (p.35ff). Evidence of this occupation is found, M. Le Braz points out, in an

English letter written by Chateaubriand (cf Correspondance Générale, I, p.67). The letter which is fairly well written, is the only proof that we have for the statement made in M. d'O.-T. (II, p.138) "J'écrivais en anglais et mes idées commençaient à se former en anglais dans ma tête."

The parson who was directing the Antiquarian society, as Chateaubriand says above, is none other than the Rev. Bence Sparrow who, according to Le Braz, held no such position. However, he was most cordial to Chateaubriand and sent him pupils including his own children and many of the prominent persons in the county (Le Braz, pp. 42-3). No wonder then that we find Chateaubriand in Bungay, a little town only four miles away from Beccles, at the home of the Rev. Mr. Ives. Here he had ample opportunity to hear English and to learn it (Cf M.d'O.-T., II, p.134-6). Mr. Ives discussed America, Newton, and Homer with the young Frenchman. Still more did he gain from his conversations with Charlotte Ives, with whom he had fallen in love. In M.d'O.-T. II, p.134, he says: "la 'young lady' me questionnait sur la France, sur la littérature; elle me demandait des plans d'études; elle désirait particulièrement connaître les auteurs italiens, et me pria de lui donner quelques notes sur la Divina Commedia et la Gerusalemme." These plans were evidently

forthcoming because Charlotte returned to Chateaubriand in 1822 "un paquet qui ne contenait", he says, (M.d'O.-T., II, p.145.) "que des billets de moi insignifiants et un plan d'études avec des remarques sur les poètes anglais et italiens." The only writing in Charlotte's own hand consisted of "quelques notes anglaises, françaises, et latines, dont l'encre vieillie et la jeune écriture témoignaient qu'elles étaient depuis longtemps déposées sur ces marges." As the result of a fall from his horse, Chateaubriand was compelled to stay at the home of the Ives for some time and so probably profited much in the way of learning the English language. During this period of recuperation, the love-affair with Charlotte, reached a point, where the family expected Chateaubriand to ask permission to marry the daughter. Supposing that timidity was holding him back, Mrs. Ives opened the subject, when Chateaubriand confessed that he was married. He then returned in haste to London.

Since his friend and companion Hingant was no longer there; Chateaubriand's walks were more lonely. Because of this loneliness he resumes work on his "essai". He writes, M.d'O.-T. (p.149), "je repris mon travail, (the writing of the Essai sur les Révolutions) au milieu de mes chagrins et des justes reproches que je me faisais. Je m'accommodais même de ce travail, car il m'était venu en pensée qu'en acquérant du renom, je rendrais la famille Ives moins repentante de l'intérêt

qu'elle m'avait témoigné." The Essai was completed in part in 1797 and "fit du bruit dans l'émigration" (M.d'O.-T., II, p. 152). "Etant devenu presque un personnage, la haute émigration me rechercha à Londres," (p.153) he continues....."alors m'éloignant derechef du canton de la colonie de la pauvre émigration de l'est j'arrivai, de logement en logement, jusqu' au quartier de la riche émigration de l'ouest, parmi les évêques, les familles de cour et les colons de la Martinique." Peltier turned up again in this circle, where Chateaubriand made new acquaintances including Christian de Lamoignon, Mme Lindsay, l'abbé Delille, other church dignitaries and M. de Fontanes. It was Fontanes who often entertained the exiles with his poems, especially with la Grèce sauvée. Cléry, valet de chambre of Louis XVI, read to them his Mémoires (M.d'O.-T., II, p.167). With Fontanes, C. walked about London and the outskirts of the city, dining together at Chelsea and talking of Shakespeare and Milton (Ibid, p.172). In frequent intercourse with these personages and in writing he spent the remainder of his time in England until his return to his native land in 1800.

Evidence of English influence more lasting than

that derived from these social gatherings and visits is found in those works of Chateaubriand which were completed or begun in England. Le Voyage en Amérique, a part of the famous Natchez manuscript, is the first of these. In this work, Chateaubriand himself notes that he has included "quelques extraits des voyages de Bartram que j'avais traduits avec assez de soin". (Cf M. Chinard: "Chateaubriand en Amérique" in University of California Publications in Mod. Phil. Vol.4, 1915, p.207.)

M. Chinard, has proved that Imlay: A Topographical Description of Western Territory of North America, was Chateaubriand's principal source for that part of his essai dealing with the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and the surrounding country (Ibid. p.341). In making his comparisons between the Voyage en Amérique and its sources, M. Chinard explains in a note (Note 12, p.298 Ibid.) that he (M. Chinard) has used the French translation of Carver: Travels through the Interior Parts of North America made in 1784, but says "Il est d'ailleurs très possible que Chateaubriand ait consulté directement le texte anglais." These three English books, then, were known to Chateaubriand. By studying the Voyage and the sources, published in parallel columns in M. Chinard's above mentioned work, we may conclude that Chateaubriand seldom made an exact translation of his source.

He has generally given concisely all the material included in the English source. Sometimes the passage of the Voyage is a résumé of the English source. In the majority of instances the dimensions given in Chateaubriand are the same as those of his sources. The differences here, and in names would point to a possible lapse of time between the careful reading of the source and the writing of the Voyage. M. Chinard has designated in a foot-note (Ibid., p. 316, Note 7.) Chateaubriand's misunderstanding of the term buffalo grass, and his inexact translation of rye grass and clover. Similar is the use of crabes in the translation of craw-fish (p. 331 Chinard: Voyage en Amérique). On the whole, however, Chateaubriand understood fairly thoroughly the English sources which he used.

In Les Natchez, practically in its entirety composed during Chateaubriand's exile in England (Cf. Chinard: Chateaubriand Les Natchez I. I & II, p. 202) as M. Chinard has shown, Chateaubriand has used not only the English works mentioned as sources of his Voyage en Amérique but also, Casteby Marc: Histoire naturelle de la Caroline, de la Floride et des Iles Bahamas, 2 vols.

¹ This is published in French with the English translation in parallel columns.

London, 1737, and Bartram, Travels thru North and South Carolina, Philadelphia, 1791.

A specific English influence is seen in an anglicism mentioned by M. Chinard -i.e. the use of plus longtemps, the English comparative, instead of le plus longtemps. (Chinard: Chateaubriand, Les Natchez (p.221 Note 20) "plus loin, de jeunes garçons, les bras attachés ensemble s'essayaient à qui supporterait plus longtemps l'ardeur d'un charbon enflammé."

Chateaubriand, himself, speaks of this influence as a result of his sojourn in England (M.d'O.-T., II, p.239) "une longue habitude de parler, d'écrire et même de penser en anglais." Here, too, (p.238) he says: "J'en (de l'Angleterre) avais pris les habitudes.... J'étais Anglais de manières, de goût et jusqu' à un certain point, de pensées." In the Avertissement of his E.L.A., published in 1867, he goes still farther and says he believes he knows as much of English as any one can of a foreign language. Van Tieghem adds a special instance of Chateaubriand's knowledge of English by this statement (Ossian en France, II, p.209). "Sa familiarité avec l'anglais lui a permis de lire et de se réciter et de citer Ossian dans le texte même." Chateaubriand himself points out some of the anglicisms in his Essai sur les Révolutions, ~~the third work~~ written during his

exile and first published in London in 1797 (M.d'O.-T., II, p.150). In the "Avertissement de l'auteur pour l'édition de 1826" (p.239) of the Essai sur les Révolutions he says: "je n'ai voulu ni corriger les fautes de langue, ni faire disparaître les hellénismes, latinismes et anglicismes qui fourmillent dans l'Essai." In the Préface p.249, he says this work is "plein d'idiotismes étrangers." Later on, in the notes, he points out certain specific anglicisms, (p.356 Note(b) and p.472 Note(a)) which are interesting because they indicate a certain familiarity with the language but no mastery of it. So much for ^{his knowledge of} the language during his exile.

In preparation for the writing of this historical essay Chateaubriand writes, (M.d'O.-T., II, p.182,) "Comme une étude mène à une autre, je ne pouvais m'occuper de mes scolies françaises sans tenir note de la littérature et des hommes du pays à milieu duquel je vivais: je fus entraîné dans ces autres recherches. Mes jours et mes nuits se passaient à lire, à écrire, ... à consulter les bibliothèques et les gens instruits." At this time he seems to have continued his study of Ossian for we find Ossian used as a reference in his discussion of the Celts in the Essai sur les Révolutions, (p.382, note., and again, p.574,) in a dis-

cussion of the conversion of the "barbares". In the last instance Chateaubriand has stated the various elements of the Ossianic landscape. In another note, p.605 of the same work, (Cf.p.9 of this ms. for content of the note) the following line from the death of Cuthullin (Ossian) is quoted: "'twas like the memory of joys that are past, pleasing and mournful to the soul". It is of interest to note that this same line, included in a longer English passage, is found in the Génie (4^e part., liv.II,ch.IV) (Van Tieghem II:p.195). Not only was he attracted to Ossian but also to the imitations of Ossian. The Préface to his Poèmes traduits du gallique en anglais (in E.L.A. p.697) contains this statement: "Je lus avec avidité une foule de poèmes inconnus en France", which were imitations of Macpherson. He also reports that he translated the works of one of these imitators-a certain John Smith. The only other mention made by Chateaubriand of this Mr. Smith in the Essai sur les Révolutions occurs in a foot-note to the chapter on "Conversion des Barbares" in which the authenticity of Ossian is discussed. The collection of "le ministre Smith" contains the celtic alongside of the supposed English translation. During Chateaubriand's stay in England, Smith proposed to publish an edition of the original Ossianic poems. This edition, however, never appeared. In the same note (Essai



sur les Révolutions, p.574). Chateaubriand offers the following criticism of a part of Smith's work: "On trouve un chant sur la mort de Gaul où il y a des choses extrêmement touchantes particulièrement Gaul expirant de besoin sur un rivage désert, et nourri du lait de son épouse". ^A A translation of this poem and of two others: Dargo and Duthona is found bound with E.L.A., pp. 699ff). (Furne, Jouvett ed.) From a comparison of Part I of the original Dargo (Cf. Smith: Galic Antiquities) and of Chateaubriand's translation the following conclusions have been drawn. In many ways the French translation is a résumé of the English. There are many omissions, some of which are personifications, others details characteristic of the epic, which might not conform to the French ideas of "bien-séance". (Cf. Smith, p.140, "Her blood was mixt with the oozy foam"). The translator, moreover, confesses in his preface (E.L.A. p.697) "J' ai fait disparaître les redites et les obscurités du texte anglais." Frequently, comparisons, characteristic of this kind of poetry, are omitted in the translation, which thereby loses the picturesqueness of the original. Occasionally changes that are made in the translation are happy. (For example, Smith, p.142, "Garril, wave thy sword of light." "Carra,

que ton glaive rapide jette encore des ondes de lumière.") Again Chateaubriand uses pareisseuse for scarce-moving. More frequently, however, these changes show misunderstanding of the text. "They found her cold as a wreath of snow." (Smith, p. 139.) ^{becomes} "affaissée comme un monceau de neige"; "nigh a spreading oak and murmuring brook" (p. 140) ^{becomes} "sous un chêne auprès d'un torrent" - "his people, with slow unequal steps, departed." (Smith, p. 144) ^{becomes} "les guerriers de Lochlin fuient". Again the French translation loses the ruggedness of the original - "and stalk, without fear, on the upland rock." (Smith, p. 133-4), "et passent avec lenteur sur la colline;" (Chateaubriand, EL.A p. 699.). There is in the French an occasional circumlocution as for instance: "l'astre des nuits" for the moon. The names of two of the persons in the story have been changed; Crimora has become Evela; Minvela, Méline. The only additions to the English are made for the sake of "la clarté du sens". In the English there is no indication of the interruption in a speech of Dargo Smith, p. 135, except in the change of the subject discussed. Chateaubriand indicates this change by interpolating this short sentence (p. 700). "Dargo s'interrompt tout à coup". Still other additions have the same value. "It is the ghost of Dargo", said Comhal, (Smith, p. 135).

"C'est l'ombre de Dargo qui gémit" (Chateaubriand, p.699-700).

Chateaubriand's study of Ossian and his imitators must have been thorough and the results lasting, since Fontanes, cited by Villemain (I, p.87), said: "il faut le débarbouiller d'Ossian." While Chateaubriand was working at the translation just discussed, he seems to have been studying Gray, for we find one quotation from The Elegy in a Country Church-yard in ^{the} Essai sur les Révolutions (p.315-316 Note 1).

"Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest,
Some village Hampden,"

The opening line of this same poem is found quoted in M.d'O.-T. (II, p.218.) "Les Tombeaux champêtres élégie imitée de Gray (Cf Romans et poésies diverses, p.567-570) by Chateaubriand appeared in 1796 in London in the journal de Peltier.

Of Milton with whom he is so much concerned in his later "essai", there is but little mention in the Essai sur les Révolutions (I have already noted on p.12 a discussion of Milton.) except as a man of politics, instrumental in bringing about the death of Charles I. In "Milton et Davenant" a poem by Chateaubriand, written

during his exile in 1797, we have some little mention of Milton the poet. Here Chateaubriand calls him "l'Homère chrétien" (Chateaubriand: Romans et poésies diverses: "Milton et Davenant", p.574) and speaks of his inspiration in the following lines:

"Et puis de cette voix, de ce ton inspiré
Qui d'Eve raconta les amours ineffables."

The two poets, Milton and Davenant, recite their works to each other and so are "charmés de leurs talents divers". Again, in a discussion of the Icon. (Essai sur les Révolutions, p.519, Note 1) reference is made to Milton's opinion of the authorship of this work. From this we may conclude that Milton does not play half so large a rôle as does Ossian in this part of Chateaubriand's life and study.

In the poem just quoted there is a little criticism of Davenant, one time poet laureate, but now almost forgotten. In the meeting of the two poets here described, Milton says to Davenant

"Serais-tu ce mortel par les Muses nourri,
Qui dans les bois sacrés égarant sa jeunesse
Enchanté de ses vers les rives du Permesse?"

Chateaubriand is apparently acquainted with the works of Blair whom together with Goethe he follows in accepting the authenticity of Ossian (Essai sur les Révolutions,

p.574 and Note 2). He also knows something of Old Scotch ballads, about the manuscripts^{of} which he speaks most learnedly (Essai sur les Révolutions, p.396-7, Note 3). "J'ai aussi remarqué la même chose dans les vieilles ballades écossaises qui se déchiffrent plus facilement que l'anglais de la même période." In this connection, we might add Chateaubriand's statement about the Camden collection (M.d'O.-T., II, p.180-1). "Les authentiques de Camden que je venais d'examiner m'avaient rendu familier avec les moeurs et les institutions du moyen âge."¹

The only general criticism that is made of English literature in ^{the} Essai sur les Révolutions, p.318, is the following. The English are the first of the moderns to apply poetry to subjects useful to man. In the discussion of the authorship of the Icon, mentioned above, Chateaubriand shows that he knows the opinions of Milton, Burnet, and Hume on the subject and follows Hume in believing it to be the work of Charles I (Essai sur les Révolutions, p.519, Note 1). The remaining criticisms of English writers concern their philosophical and historical works. He discusses Butler (Essai sur les Révolutions, p.518, note), Bacon, Hobbes and Locke (Essai sur les Révolutions, p.545 ff.) (Ibid., p.516 Note 1) and makes some

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This statement we must accept with a grain of salt when we consider Note 1 on p.12 of this study.

mention of the anonymous pamphlets written at the time of Cromwell. In the Essai, we also find a criticism of one of Chateaubriand's sources - Robertson's Disquisition (Essai sur les Révolutions, p.501, Note 1).

It is in the study of such works as the last, if we judge by a detailed study of the Essai sur les Révolutions, that Chateaubriand spent much of his time during his exile. There are four classes of works, use of which he has stated in the body or foot-notes of this essay. The first group, tales of travel of particular interest to the young "émigré," includes works by Smollett, Moore, Cook, Koben, Bruce on France, Switzerland, the Cape of Good Hope and the Nile. (Cf. Essai sur les Révolutions, p.313, Note 6; Ibid., p. 337, Note 2; pp.373-376, p.415, p.396, Note 1; p.279, Note 8; p.278, Note 1. Respectively). A number of passages from Cook's Voyages are translated at length in ^{the} Essai sur les Révolutions. In the library of John Ives, who was interested in America, Le Braz (Au pays d'exil de Chateaubriand, p.146) states, Chateaubriand probably studied carefully the American journeys of Carver and Bartram. The second group includes histories of America and England and her possessions. Here are



found such names as Wilkins, Robertson, Hyde, Folhed, Gibbon (Essai sur les Révolutions, p.416, p.278, Note 4; p.351, Note 8; p.573, Note 2; p.580, Note 2; p.410, Note 4; p.415, Note 2 and ***; p.573 and Note 1). Hume's history of England and Smollet's continuation of it are frequently used by Chateaubriand. (Essai sur les Révolutions, p.361, Note 5,9, and 362, Note 1; p.430, Note 2; p.560, Note 1; p.575, Note 2). In his chapter on some philosophic objections to Christianity we find that Chateaubriand makes use of Hume's philosophical Essay and Toland's works. (Ibid., p.588 and Note 1).

In addition to these sources of information Chateaubriand found still others. It is through an English translation by Wilkins that Chateaubriand seems to have gained some knowledge of the Mahabarata quoted in part in French in the chapter on "Les arts en Perse et en Allemagne" in the Essai sur les Révolutions.

It is probable too that through the English version, at least as a result of his exile in England, Chateaubriand became acquainted with the two Eddas, a fact ^{that} is not mentioned in Giraud, Nouvelles études sur Chateaubriand, which contains a thorough study of the education of Chateaubriand. In the Essai sur les Révolutions, we find the exiled author using the two Eddas

as sources. (Cf p.279, Note 7; p.382, Note 1 and Note C, and p.574, Note 1).

A list of the English authors and works known to Chateaubriand before 1800 follows. Sometimes Chateaubriand has given only the name of the author, again only the name of the work. Only once, in citing Wilkins, has he given the date of publication. This list, therefore, gives the date of the first edition. Several works I have been unable to identify.

- Bacon, On the advancement of learning, (presumably) Bacon, Francis, Two Bookes on the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, divine and humane, London, 1605.
Novum Organon Scientiarum, 1620.
- Bartram, Wm., Travels through North and South Carolina, Philadelphia, 1791.
- Blair, (presumably) Hugh, A critical dissertation on the poems of Ossian, 1763.
Lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres, 1783.
- Bruce, Voyage aux Sources du Nil, (presumably) Travels to discover the source of the Nile in the years 1768 to 1773, Edinburgh, 1790.
- Burnet, (presumably) Gilbert, History of his own time, London, 1724-1734.
- Butler, Hudibras:)1st part, Richard Marriot, 1663.
)2nd part, John Martyn, 1664.
)3rd part, Simon Miller 1678, '79.
- Camden, in Elizab., (presumably) ;
Camden, Wm., Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha, Lugd. Bat., 1628.

Carver, J. Travels through the interior part of
North America, London, 1778.

Casteby, Marc, Histoire Naturelle de la Caroline,
de la Floride et des Iles Bahamas,
London, 1737.

Clarke, (presumably) A collection of papers which passed
between the late learned Mr. Leibnitz and Dr.
Clarke in the years 1715- and 1716. Relating
to the principles of natural philosophy and
religion, London, 1717.

Coke, Letters on Switzerland.

Cook, Capt. J., Third Voyage, London, 1784.

D'Arblay, Mme Francis Burney; Cecilia, or Memoirs of an
heiress, London, 1782.

Detection of the Court.

Edda, (presumably) translation by A.S.Cottle, London, 1797.

translation by T. Percy in Northern Antiquities
from M. Mallet's Introduction to l'Histoire de
Dannemarc, London, 1770.

General Justice.

Gibb. Rise and fall of the Roman Empire, (presumably)
Gibbon, Edward, History of decline and fall of the Roman
Empire, London, 1776-88.

Gray, (presumably) Thomas, Poems, London 1768.

Guth., Geogr. Gram., (presumably) Guthrie, Wm.,
A geographical, historical, and commercial
Grammar, London, 1770.

Halhed, Grammar of the Bengal language, Hoogly in Bengal,
1778.

Harris, Hermes, (presumably) Harris, James, Hermes; or
a philosophical inquiry concerning language and
universal Grammar, London, 1752.

- Henry, Hist. of Engl. (presumably) Henry, Robert,
The History of Great Britain, Edinburgh
and London, 1771-93.
- Hobbes, De Corpore Politico, (presumably), in Tripos,
London, 1684.
- de la Nature Humaine, (presumably) Of Humane
Nature, in Tripos, London, 1684.
- Dissertation sur l'Homme (presumably) De
Homine, 1656.
- Leviathan, London, 1651.
- Hume, History of England, London, 1761-2.
- Philosophical Essay, Edinburgh, 1742.
- Hyde, Rel. Pers. (presumably)
- Hyde, Thomas, Veterum Persarum et Medorum Religionis,
Oxon., 1760.
- Icon Basilike, The Portraiture of his sacred majesty
King Charles I in his Solitudes and Sufferings,
1648.
- Imlay, Gilbert, A Topographical Description of the Western
Territory of North America, London, 1792.
- Koben, Acc. of the C. of Good Hope, (presumably)
- Kolben, Peter, The present State of the Cape of Good Hope,
translated from the German by Mr. Medley, London,
1731.
- Locke, John, On human understanding, London, 1690.
- Macpherson, James, (presumably) Fragments of ancient Poetry,
collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and trans-
lated from the Gaelic or Erse Language, Edinburgh,
1760.
- Fingal, an ancient epic Poem...., London, 1762.
- Temora, an ancient epic Poem..., London, 1763.

Milton, John, (presumably) Lycidas, Cambridge, 1638.
 Samson Agonistes, with Paradise Regained, 1671.
 (presumably)
 Minor Poems, London, Moseley, 1645.

Paradise Lost,¹ 1667.

(presumably) Works, Historical, Political, and
 Miscellaneous, Latin and English, London, 1698.

Dr. Moore's Journ. (presumably)

Moore, John, Journal during a residence in France, London,
 1793.

Newton, (presumably) Opera, London, 1779-85.

Ramsay's Hist. of the Am. Revol. (presumably)

Ramsay, David, The History of the American Revolution,
 London, 1791.

Richardson, Samuel, Clarissa Harlowe, London, 1748.

Pamela, London, 1741-2.

Robertson, Diquisition, etc., concern. Ancient India,
 (presumably) An Historical Discuisition con-
 cerning the knowledge which the Ancients had
 of India, London, 1791.

Hist. de l'Amérique, (presumably) The History
 of America, London, 1777.

(presumably) History of the Reign of the Emperor
 Charles V, London, 1769.

Hist. of Scotland, (presumably) The History of
 Scotland, London, 1759.

Shakespeare, Wm., (presumably) Comedies, Histories and
 Tragedies, London, 1623.

Shelborn, Amaenitat. Leter.

Sidney, Arcadia, (presumably)

Sidney, Sir Philip, The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia,
 London,¹ 1590.

Sidney, Traité sur le gouvernement, (presumably)
 Sidney, Algernon, Discourses concerning Government,
 London, 1698.

Sketches on the Mythology and Customs of the Hindoos.
 Smith, John, (Presumably) Galic Antiquities: consisting
 of a history of Caledonia, a dissertation on
 the authenticity of the poems of Ossian, and
 a collection of ancient poems translated from
 the Galic of Ullin, Ossian, Oran, etc.,
 Edinburgh, 1780.

Smoll., Contin. to Hume's Hist. of Engl. (presumably)
 Smollett, Tobias, The History of England from the
 Revolution to the Death of George II, designed
 as a Continuation of Hume, London, 1789.

Voyage en France (presumably
 Travels through France and Italy, London, 1766.

Sparrm., Voy. among the Hott. (presumably)
 Sparrman, Andrew, A voyage to the Cape of Good Hope,
 towards the Ant-artic polar circle and round
 the world but chiefly into the country of the
 Hottentots and Caffres, London, 1785.

Thomson, (presumably) The Seasons, London, 1728.

Toland, (presumably) A Collection of several Pieces of
 Mr. John Toland, London, 1726.

Walker, (presumably) The Compleat History of Independency,
 1646-60, London, 1661.

Whitelocke, Précis Historique (presumably)
 Whitelocke, Sir Bulstrode, Memorials of English affairs
 from the Reign of King Charles I to the Restora-
 tion of King Charles II; London, Arthur Earl
 of Anglesea, 1682.

Wilkins, Sir Charles, The Bhagavat-Geeta from the Mahabarata,
 a translation, London, 1785.

Young, Edward, (presumably) The Complaint or Night Thoughts
 on Life, Death, and Immortality, London, 1743.

To summarize briefly, we might say that, as a youth, Chateaubriand had become acquainted with the English language in his studies and reading. His intercourse with English speaking people during his stay in America increased to some extent this acquaintance with the language. Later, in England, his association with the people of Suffolk county and especially his love-affair with Charlotte Ives were large factors in adding to his familiarity with the language. Evidences of this are to be found in occasional anglicisms which exist in the works begun or written in their entirety in England, - the Voyage, Les Natchez and the Essai sur les Révolutions. We may conclude, then, that, at the end of his exile in England, Chateaubriand was fairly well acquainted with the language, though not so thoroughly as he would lead us to believe.

Chateaubriand's acquaintance with the literature also dates back to 1777. From that year till 1791 his reading included the works of Ossian, Shakespeare, Richardson, Thomson, Gray and Young. His voyage to America had increased his knowledge of Ossian. Later, in England, he not only reads and quotes but uses English works as sources for his Voyage and Les Natchez. In addition to these books concerning America, we find him

using still others for his Essai sur les Révolutions as well as historical and philosophical works. The essay, moreover, shows us that Chateaubriand continued, during his exile, his study of the literature in a stricter sense of the word. Of the critics, he knew Blair, Hume, and Burnet. Through Wilkins he had learned to know the Mahabharata and from another English translation the two Eddas. He had acquired some information about old Scotch ballads and about Davenant. Of Davenant's more famous contemporary, Milton, Chateaubriand knew the earlier poetry, the political works and something of Paradise Lost, since the Génie du Christianisme, written in part in England, is full of quotations. Gray's Elegy he read, quoted and even imitated during his exile. Ossian is, however, the outstanding figure in this early part of Chateaubriand's life. In England, he read the numerous imitations of Ossian which had not appeared in France and became so absorbed in the poems of Smith, that he translated two, Dargo and Duthona. Although Chateaubriand was aware of the existence of other English writers, had read and used the works of some, his interest was centered upon Gray, Milton, and Ossian. Only the two last mentioned, we are certain, left a permanent influence on

Chateaubriand. Let us turn, then, to an examination of Chateaubriand's works in order to ascertain the nature and extent of this influence.

CHAPTER II.

The influence of Milton on Chateaubriand is found in:

1. Actual borrowings from Milton's Paradise Lost in Les Natchez and Les Martyrs.
2. Criticism of Milton in ^{the} Génie du Christianisme, M.d'O.-T., E.L.A.
3. Translation of Paradise Lost 1802-1836.

In Les Natchez the most striking borrowing from Milton is the element called by the author "le merveilleux". All of Book IV of Les Natchez is given over to this element. Here the guardian angel of America goes to Heaven to report impending trouble for Les Natchez. So the author is given an opportunity to describe Heaven and its inhabitants. This will be studied in greater detail later. Occasionally in addition to this one book to which most of this element in Les Natchez is restricted, Satan or Heaven or their subjects intervene in the action. So, for instance, in Book IX: p.298, "Alors le Prince des Ténèbres appelle le Temps et lui dit: 'Puissance dévorante que j'ai enfantée, toi qui, vole sur les deux flancs de l'armée indienne, coupe les bois antiques pour en faire un rempart aux Natchez:...' " Other examples of intervention of Satan or his allies

follow: La Renommée and Satan journey together to America where the former becomes an old man and goes among the Natchez spreading false reports. (Les Natchez, II, pp.188-9). "Satan planant dans les airs, au dessus de l'Amérique, jetait un regard désespéré sur cette partie de la terre, où le Sauveur le poursuit, comme le soleil qui, s'avancant des portes de l'Orient, chasse devant lui les ténèbres....." (Les Natchez, II, p.175). "Satan, rempli de projets de vengeance, va aux enfers rassembler le conseil des Démon. (Ibid. II, p.175). "Le Prince des Enfers arrivent aux extrémités du monde où se trouve le palais de la Renommée.¹ (Les Natchez II, pp.185-6). "Le Démon de l'or", fearing the results of Père Souel's speech to the French; "souffle sa concupiscence sur le conseil". At once all generous impulses die. (Les Natchez, III, pp.198-9). "Satan appelle à lui les esprits des ténèbres; il leur ordonne de soutenir les Natchez par tous les moyens dont il a plu à Dieu de laisser la puissance au Génie du mal. A Hurricane is produced. (Les Natchez, IX, p.293). Again in Les Natchez (p.330): "Les Anges veillèrent sur le repos de ces deux hommes (Outougamiz and René) qui avaient

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A description of the palace which may recall Paradise Lost I, lines 710 ff. (Cf. Chinard, Chateaubriand Les Natchez I & II, p.256.



trouvé grâce auprès de celui qui dort dans le sein de Jean." Another example of this kind may be found in Les Natchez (II, 217.) "L'Eternel révéla à son Fils bien-aimé ses desseins sur l'Amérique. Cependant..(il) permet à Satan un moment de triomphe...."

In addition to the mere fact that Chateaubriand treats of Heaven in one chapter of his Les Natchez as Milton does in his Paradise Lost, there are certain decided similarities of detail. In the description of Heaven, "Les eaux, les arbres, les fleurs de ces champs inconnus, n'ont rien qui ressemble aux nôtres, hors les noms;" (Les Natchez, IV, p.212) there may be some re-¹collection of Eve's lament on her leaving Eden.

" O flowers,
That never will in other climate grow,
My early visitation, and my last
At even, which I bred up with tender hand
From the first opening bud, and gave ye names!"
(Paradise Lost XI, (p.652 E.L.A.)

"L'Ange de l'Amérique" who is visiting the abode of Uriel, as does Satan in Paradise Lost (Cf. Dick) on her arrival in Heaven questions Uriel, who replies: "....votre curiosité n'a rien d'indiscret, puisque vous n'avez pour but que de glorifier l'oeuvre du Père, (Les Natchez, IV, p.206).

"Fair angel, thy desire, which tends to know
The works of God, thereby to glorify
The great Work-Master, leads to no excess
That reaches blame, but rather merits praise".
(Paradise Lost III, p.427-8 E.L.A.)

¹

The quotations from Milton are taken from the text given by Chateaubriand in his Essai sur la littérature anglaise.

Uriel continuing, speaks of Creation, which he ^{had} witnessed. Here, as in many instances Chateaubriand may have been inspired by Milton who in turn was inspired by ~~Milton~~ ~~who is also very inspired by~~ the Bible. Uriel (to L'Ange de l'Amérique): (Les Natchez, IV, p.206.) "Lorsque la creation sortit du néant à la Parole éternelle." Uriel to Satan: Paradise Lost, III, p.428 (E.L.A.p.428)

"I saw, when at his word the formless mass,
This world's material mould, came to a heap."

The Bible again may be the ultimate source of Milton and Chateaubriand for part of a conversation between Catherine de France and Mary which also takes place in Heaven. Chateaubriand speaks of "Le serpent dont vous avez écrasé la tête". (Les Natchez, IV, p.214)

"Between thee and the woman I will put
Enmity, and between thine and her seed;
Her seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel"
(Paradise Lost, X, p.613 E.L.A.)

The epithet with which Catherine addresses Mary is the same which Milton uses of Mary. Catherine: "Marie d'Emmanuel! seconde Eve," (Les Natchez, IV, p.214)

"Long after to blest Mary, second Eve"

(Paradise Lost, V, p.477 E.L.A.)

Isolated examples of the "merveilleux" are found scattered throughout the first ten books of Les Natchez. This element is concentrated in one chapter only and there the

borrowings from Milton consist of a detail of the description of Heaven and of subjects of conversation between the visiting angel or demon and the inhabitant of the region, and finally of an epithet used in that conversation. The fact that this characteristic of Les Natchez which is borrowed from Paradise Lost appears only in the first part of the work can be readily explained by the author's statement in the preface: ".... le premier volume s'élève à la dignité de l'épopée, comme dans les Martyrs; le second volume descend à la narration ordinaire, comme dans Atala et dans René. (Les Natchez Préface, p.158) "Dans le second volume, le merveilleux disparaît, mais l'intrigue se complique, et les personnages se multiplient: quelques-uns d'entre eux sont pris jusque dans les rangs inférieurs de la société. Enfin le roman remplace le poème,...." (Les Natchez, Préface p.159) This change of genre was made on Chateaubriand's return to France when he reworked the Natchez manuscript which had been left in England and returned to him later.

Inspired by the Satanic council in Paradise Lost is the council held by Ondouré in the second part of Les Natchez. Though due to the influence of a part of the "merveilleux chrétien" in Paradise Lost, I have chosen

to consider the conclave as a manifestation of the epic element - our second group of borrowings from Milton. The idea of holding a meeting of the kind here described is common to all epics. Dick has already mentioned this point of contact between Paradise Lost and Les Natchez. There are certain details which may be added from an extensive comparison of the two scenes.

The time at which the council takes place is the same, - sunset.

"Now when ambrosial night with clouds exhal'd
From that high mount of God, whence light and shade
Spring both, the face of brightest Heaven had chang'd
To grateful twilight."

(Paradise Lost, V, p.485, E.L.A.)

"C'était au coucher du soleil que devait commencer
la délibération:"(Les Natchez, p.447)

The meeting places have a similar location

". . . and Satan on his royal seat
High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount
Rais'd on a mount,
For thither he assembled all his train"

(Paradise Lost, V, p.489, E.L.A.)

"Sur la côte septentrionale du lac Supérieur s'élève
une roche d'une hauteur prodigieuse
C'était à ce rocher . . . que toutes les nations in-
diennes se devaient réunir."

(Les Natchez, p.443)

In each instance there is pretense on the part of the person who has called the meeting.

Satan:

"Pretending, so commended, to consult
About the great reception of their King!"
(Paradise Lost, V, p.489 E.L.A.)

Ondouré uses patriotism to conceal his own designs to get René out of the way. At an earlier meeting of the Satanic powers, Beelzebub has suggested a sudden attack which will at once lay waste the whole world in these words:

Ondouré:

"Une nuit, les chairs rouges se lèveront à la fois,
et extermineront leurs ennemis."
(Les Natchez, p.450)

Beelzebub:

". here (on earth) perhaps
Some advantageous act may be achiev'd
By sudden onset; either with Hell-fire
To waste his whole creation, or possess
All as our own,"
(Paradise Lost, II, p.382 E.L.A.)

Abdiel alone, of all those who sit in council with Satan, opposes his plan (Cf Paradise Lost, V 490-493 E.L.A.) and finally leaves. The Iroquois, too, fail to agree with Ondouré's plan and refuse to join in the contemplated massacre (Les Natchez pp.451-3). Here, however, there is no similarity of speech.

Another epic device is common to Les Natchez and to Paradise Lost, namely the cataloguing of terms applied to the inhabitants of Heaven.

"Ià, les Anges, les archanges, les Trônes, les
 Dominations, les Séraphins n'osent errer."
 (Les Natchez, p.215)

"Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions, I reduce"
 (Paradise Lost, III, E.I.A.p.416)
 "Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers -"
 (Paradise Lost, V, E.I.A.p.484)

In this instance, again, Milton and Chateaubriand may have
 a common source in the Bible. In this particular passage
 Chateaubriand has not listed these terms in addressing the
 various powers, as Milton has done in the parallel passage
 quoted and as he (Chateaubriand) himself has done elsewhere
 in his works. The only appearances of the epic element
 in Les Natchez are, then, in this enumeration and in the
 council.

The most important class of borrowings may be
 grouped under the general heading of use of precious
 stones and of gold in description of heavenly things. There-
 as in Book V of Paradise Lost, Milton has the angels eating
 and drinking from pearl, diamond and golden vessels,
 Chateaubriand has chosen only the most brilliant element and
 has Uriel present to the Angel of America "une coupe de
 diamant pleine d'une liqueur inconnue." (Les Natchez, IV, p.206).
 "l'Anse du soleil présente à celui de l'Amérique une coupe
 de diamant, pleine d'une liqueur inconnue;... les dernières
 gouttes du nectar. . . . (Les Natchez, IV, p.206)

". . . . all in circles as they stood,
 Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd
 With angels' food, and rubied nectar flow
 In pearl, in diamond, and massy gold,
 Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of Heaven."
 (Paradise Lost, V:485 E.I.A.)

Again, gold is the quality chosen by Chateaubriand from Milton and the "glorious color" becomes one definite color in Les Natchez, "pourpre."

"What wonder then if fields and regions here
Breathe forth elixir pure, and rivers run
Potable gold, when with one virtuous touch,
Th' arch-chymic sun (so far from us remote)
Produces, with so many precious things,
Of colour glorious and effect so rare?
Here matter new to gaze the devil met
Undazzled; far and wide his eye commands,"
(Paradise Lost III, (E.L.A.p.425))

"... il(l'ange protecteur de l'Amérique) nage dans les
mers d'or et de pourpre; et sans en être ébloui, les
regards fixés sur l'astre du jour....."
(Les Natchez, IV,p.205)

It is to be noted that, in both the above-mentioned cases, the person looking upon all this brilliance is not dazzled by it. In still another instance in Chateaubriand's description of heavenly things, golden is used as it is in Milton.

"L'éternel n'avait point encore pesé dans ses balances
d'or la destinée de ces guerriers; la victoire de-
meurait incertaine." (Chateaubriand:Les Natchez, III,p.)
203-and p.229).

"...Now dreadful deeds
Might have ensued:... ..
.....
..... had not soon
Th'Eternal, to prevent such horrid fray,
Hurl forth in Heaven his golden scales, yet seen
Betwixt Astrea and the Scorpion sign,
Wherein all things created first he weigh'd,

"The pendulous round earth with balanc'd air
 In counterpoise; now ponders all events,
 Battles, realms; in these he put two weights;
 The sequel each of parting and of fight:"
Paradise Lost, IV, p.463 (E.L.A.)

Of this passage Chateaubriand says in a note to ^{Les} Martyrs p.528 (Rem.VI): "Voyez Homère et l'Ecriture". As the same situation occurs in Les Natchez and in Paradise Lost it is quite possible to believe that in this Chateaubriand and Milton have a common source in Homer:

Χρυσεία πατήρ ἐτίθει τάλαντα (Iliad, 8.69, 22.209); since in the Bible there is no mention of golden scales. The last example of this type of borrowing is of a slightly different kind, though it has in common with the others brilliance. The four cherubim with flaming swords who guard the highest regions of Heaven recall the cherubim placed outside of Paradise after man's fall.

"Un rideau sépare les régions inférieures du Ciel, de ces régions sublimes; la garde en est confiée à quatre Chérubins armés d'épées flamboyantes." (Les Natchez, IV, p.215-216.)

" and from the other hill
 To their fix'd station, all in bright array
The cherubim descended:
 High in front advanced
The brandish'd sword of god before them blaz'd
 Fierce as a comet; ..
 To the gate of the garden of Eden.
Paradise Lost, VII:693 (E.L.A.)

Finally there are two more cases in which there is possible borrowing from Milton, both of which fall out-

side of the three classes already discussed. In speaking of the young ruler's new tutor:

"Ainsi l'éducation d'un enfant, qui devait un jour commander à des peuples, fut remise à des mains oppressives et souillées: le champ empoisonné de Gome ne fait mourir la plante qu'on lui confie, ou ne porte que des arbres dont les fruits sont remplis de cendre. (Les Natchez, p.348)

This may recall:

" Greedily they pluck'd
The fruitage fair to sight, like that which grew
Near that bituminous lake where Sodom flam'd;
This more delusive, not the touch, but taste
Deceiv'd: they fondly thinking to allay
Their appetite with gust, instead of fruit
Chew'd bitter ashes,"

(Paradise Lost, X, (E.L.A.p.625)

The second I mention as an example of possible influence only, since it expresses a common-place.

"Un homme, pour comprendre l'infini, se plaçant....
détournerait sa pensée d'une entreprise si vaine.
(Les Natchez IV, p.250.)

"Heaven is too high for thee
To know what passes there.....

Paradise Lost VIII, p.549 and 551 (E.L.A.)

In Les Natchez, then, the influence of Milton is evident in the presence of the "merveilleux", which enters at various times, but is found centered in the fourth book - in the description of Heaven. Associated with this element, in that the persons dealt with are supernatural or inspired by the supernatural in Paradise Lost, is the epic

element. Similarly allied with the supernatural is the final borrowing of terms of brilliance, such as gold, diamond.

Though the Génie is next in order of composition of Chateaubriand's works I shall leave that till later, since the influence of Milton consists there of criticism, quotation and translation; and pass on to Les Martyrs. Since ^{Les}Martyrs was to exemplify the doctrine of the Génie "il m'a semblé qu'il fallait", says Chateaubriand in the Preface to ^{the} first and second editions, p. V., "un sujet qui renfermât dans un même cadre le tableau des deux religions, la morale, les sacrifices, les pompes des deux cultes; un sujet où le Jupiter d'Homère vint se placer à côté du Jéhovah de Milton sans blesser la piété, le goût et la vraisemblance des mœurs." Dick in his Chateaubriands Verhältnis zu Milton suggests that Chateaubriand knew his Milton so thoroughly that he made use of the suggestion given by Milton in the beginning of the ninth book. Milton speaks of man's disloyalty which is to be the subject of the remainder of the book. Cf Paradise Lost, IX, lines 27-33.

" Sad task! yet argument
 Not less, but more, heroic than the wrath
 Of stern Achilles
 Not sedulous by nature to indite
 Wars, hitherto the only argument
 Heroic deemed, chief mastery to dissect
 With long and tedious havoc fabled knights
 In battles feigned (the better fortitude
Of patience and heroic martyrdom
Unsung) or to describe races and fames...."

So much for the subject.

In this work there are far more borrowings from Milton than in the earlier Les Natchez; but they may be grouped under the same headings. Far more extensive use is made of the "merveilleux" in Les Martyrs than in Les Natchez. Here again, we have one whole chapter devoted to heaven - Chapter III - and in addition another chapter VIII devoted to its antithesis - hell. This same balancing of the powers of light and darkness evidenced in the chapters, ^{or} as you might expect from the subject of Les Martyrs, extends to many of the cases of intervention which are scattered throughout the book. So in Book XV: Angels and Demons are present at the public hearing of the two faiths. (Mart. XV,p.227). At the end of the council, Hell is joyous and the Angels return in sadness to Heaven. (Mart. XVI,p.243). Similar is the Intervention of Hell and ^{the} withdrawal of Heaven's aid in the Velléda episode. (Mart. X:151). In Book XVII,

the two powers are in conflict in one person. Satan goes to inspire the sibyl, an Angel is sent by God to keep her from pronouncing an adverse oracle. (Mart. XVII, pp.254 ff.) Examples of intervention by God or his angels follow:

"L'Ange des saintes amours" visits Eudore (Mart. p.177)

Paul is taken up into Heaven by a company of angels.
(Ibid., XI, p.171)

L'Ange des saintes amours l'inspire et la mère du Sauveur la (Cymodocée) remplit de résolutions généreuses.
(Ibid., XIII, p.191)

When the Roman soldiers search for Cymodocée in the gathering of Christians, a guardian angel helps Eudore escape with her. (Ibid., XV, pp.209-10)

La divine mère du Sauveur veillait sur les jours de l'innocente pèlerine; elle envoie Gabriel à l'Ange des mers afin de lui commander de ne laisser souffler que la plus douce haleine des vents. (Ibid., XV, pp.220-2).

God sends an angel, whose duty it is to inscribe eternal decrees in the Book of Life, to the fathers of the Church. (Ibid., XV, p.223)

Christ, returning from inspection of worlds, sees Cymodocée's vessel and communicates his will to the Angel of the seas. (Ibid., XIX, p.287-8)

The Queen of the Angels holds Cymodocée to the balcony.
(Ibid., XX, p.300)

There is joy in Heaven over Eudore's impending death.
(Ibid., XXI, p.312)

The Seraphim and guardian angels are with Eudore when he is tortured. (Ibid. XXI, P.313)

Mary asks for mercy and is allowed to take Séphora, Eudore's mother, to Heaven from purgatory. (Ibid, XXI, pp.314 ff).

God sends the Angel of Hope to comfort Cymodocée. (Ibid, XXIII, p.335).

At Cymodocée's request God sends the Angel of Sleep to Demodocus. (Ibid, XXIII, p.343).

God gives his blessing to Eudore and Cymodocée in the arena. (Ibid, XXIV, p.356).

Three examples show the vengeance of the angels.

"L'ange exterminateur est envoyé par Dieu à Galérius. (Ibid, XXII, p.319) et à Hiéroclès" (Ibid, XXIII, p.333).

"Michel plonge Satan dans l'abîme." (Ibid, p. 351 ff.).

There are eight more cases in which the demons enter.

Astarté intervenes (Mart., Book XII, p.172)
Satan fills Diocletian with superstition. (Ibid, p.175)
Demons - send a favorable wind (Ibid, p.177)

Heaven and Hell enter (Ibid, XIII, p.188).
Satan, calls on help of Astarté (Ibid, XIII, p.189)

Satan goes to Hell to bring up the "Démon de la jalousie." (Ibid, XIV, pp.199 ff.).

Hiéroclès comes to Rome accompanied by all the powers of Hell. (Ibid, XV, p.224)

Hell rejoices over the decree of Emperor. (Ibid, XVIII, p. 257) and again, p. 266, when the earth is given into the hands of the Angel of homicide, Hell works with the magician p.270.

The Demon of false wisdom is disguised as^a school master (Ibid, XVII, p.231).
Satan rouses prejudice and hatred in those present at the council (Ibid XVI, p.235).

"Satan ranime le fantisme du peuple." (Mart. XXIII, p.328)

Satan and his followers rejoice in Eudore's suffering.
(Ibid, XXIV, p. 349).

Satan takes a far more active part than God, who often allows Mary and the angels to take the initiative. There are altogether some thirty examples of this kind of intervention.

In Chapter III of Les Martyrs there are certain individual points in addition to the general idea of Heaven which are borrowed from Milton. Thus in the description of Heaven, we find a Tree (Mart. III, p. 34) of Knowledge and a Tree of Life which Köhler has pointed out as counterparts of the trees in the earthly Paradise. (See also.) The river which waters Eden recalls the one described in Paradise Lost. In fact the Remarques, p. 430, say: "on lisait dans les premières éditions quatre fleuves." Chateaubriand continues: "J'avais voulu rappeler le paradis terrestre. Je suis revenu à une image plus fidèle à la lettre de l'Ecriture."

"L'onde mystérieuse se partage en divers canaux qui s'enchaînent, se divisent, se rejoignent, se quittent encore, et l'ont croître, avec la vigne immortelle, le lis semblable à l'épouse, et les fleurs qui parfument la couche de l'époux." (Mart.III,p.34) Cf.K.

" ; thence united fell
 Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood,
 Which from his darksome passage now appears,
 And now, divided into four main streams,
Runs diverse, wandering many a famous realm

 How from that sapphire fount the crisped brooks,
 Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold
 With mazy arrow under pendent shades
 Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed
 Flowers worthy of Paradise;
Paradise Lost IV, (p.438 E.L.A.)

This may also be suggested by books of travel of the
 16th century. Passing on to the heavenly divinities,
 we find that

"le Père tient un compas à la main." (Mart. III, p.39)

" and in his (Son's) hand
 He took the golden compasses, prepared
 In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
 This universe," Paradise Lost VII, p.531 E.L.A. (Cf.K.)

(N.B. It^{is} strange that Chateaubriand has omitted golden.) The
 second person of the Trinity,

"Le Fils armé de foudre¹ est assis à sa droite."
 (Mart III, p.39)

" beside him hung his bow
 And quiver with three-bolted thunder stor'd;"
Paradise Lost VI, p.519 E.L.A.

The functions of the whole company of angels in ^{Les} Martyrs are
 modeled on the functions of Milton's angels.

¹ ~~The Bible may be the common source (Cf. Smead p. 114.
 Gen. 2:17 and Apoc. 22:3.)~~

"Un million de ces Génies ardents règlent les
mouvements des astres et se relèvent tour à tour
dans ces emplois magnifiques . . . " (Mart.III,p.35)

" Such was their song
 While the creator, calling forth by name
His mighty angels, gave them several charge,
As sorted best with present things
 To the blank moon
Her office they prescribed, to the other five
Their planetary motions, and aspects,
In sextile, square, and trine, and opposite,
Of noxious efficacy, and when to join
In synod unbenign; and taught the fix'd
Their influence malignant when to shower;
Which of them rising with the sun, or falling,
Should prove tempestuous:

. The sun
 Had first his precept so to move, so shine,
 As might affect the earth with cold and heat
 Scarce tolerable, and from the north to call
 Decrepit winter; from the south to bring
 Solstitial summer's heat."

Paradise Lost X, pp.62-7-8 (E.I.A.)

Whereas some of the angelic hosts must watch over the
 movements of the stars, others must concern themselves
 with the winds.

"A ceux-là appartient la direction des saisons,
des vents et des tempêtes." (Mart.III,p.34)

" to the winds they set
 Their corners, when, with bluster to confound
 Sea, air, and shore; Paradise Lost X, p.628 in E.I.A.

It was the particular duty of the Ange des mers to bring
 about the flood as is shown incidentally in ^{Las} Martys XV.

The use of the word "cataract^e" may be due to ^{the} direct in-
fluence of Milton or it may have with Milton a common

source in the Latin Bible.

"Ce fut lui qui, par l'ordre de Dieu, ouvrit au Déluge les cataractes du ciel " (Mart. XV, p.221)

"but all the cataracts
Of Heaven set open on the earth shall pour
Rain, day and night; . . .
Paradise Lost XI, (p.670 E.L.A.)

les cataractes du ciel. Genesis 7:11,8:2; II Kings VII:2, 19; Isaiah 24:18; Malachi III:10. Also in the Greek and Latin versions. Cf. Vigouroux: Dictionnaire de la Bible.

The burden of the angels' song is the same in Milton's and Chateaubriand's works.

"Les six jours de la création, le repos du Seigneur..
....sont célébrés tour à tour, dans les royaumes
in corruptibles ." Mart. III, :37.

"and, from work
Now resting, bless'd and hallow'd the seventh day,
As resting on that day the harp
Had work, and rested not.
Creation and the six days' acts they sung:-
Paradise Lost VII, p.543 in E.L.A.
(Cf. Gen. 2:2).

Later in ^{Les} Martyrs, at the death of Séphora, Eudore's mother, Mary goes forth to meet her and escort her to Heaven. As they approach Heaven, the "choeur des puissances" sings:

"Ouvrez-vous, portes éternelles: laissez passer la
Souveraine des cieux!" Mart. XXI, p.317 Cf. Ps. 23:37

which recalls the song of acclaim that greeted the Creator on his return to his habitation after his work had been completed.

"Open, ye everlasting gates! they sung;
 Open, ye Heavens! your living doors; let in
 The great Creator, from his work return'd."
Paradise Lost VII (E.L.A.p.542)

Michael one of the greater angels is armed with a spear
 in ^{Les}Martyrs as he is in ²Paradise Lost and in Tasso.

"Le vainqueur de l'antique Dragon, Michel, prépare
 sa lance redoutable." Mart. III, p.42.

" by his side,
 As in a glistering zodiac, hung the sword,
 Satan's due dread; and in his hand the spear."
Paradise Lost XI, p.651 in E.L.A.

Tradition, however, has Michael armed with a sword and
 St. George with a spear. Michael in ^{Les}Martyrs, too, is
 compared in his flight to a comet:

"Au signal du Dieu fort, Michel s'élance des cieux
 comme une comète." Mart. XXIV, p.352. Cf. K.

Köhler thinks that this comparison may have been suggested
 by one in Milton which is applied to Uriel.

Uriel - "swift as a shooting star."
Paradise Lost IV, (p.448).

Could not this be an every-day comparison? There is
 some slight possibility that the Angel of Sleep summoned
 by Cymodocée remembers a part of creation through the in-
 fluence of that particular part of creation in Paradise
Lost .

"il cherche des yeux les déserts où furent les
 campagnes d'Eden; il se souvient du premier
sommeil de l'homme, alors que Dieu tira du côté

d'Adam la belle compagne qui devait perdre et
sauver la race humaine." (Mart. XXIII,p.343).

".and sought repair
Of sleep, which instantly fell on me,
Paradise Lost VIII, (E.L.A.p.560)

In addition to the angels, the saints form a part of
Chateaubriand's Heaven in ^{Les}Martyrs. They delight in all
of God's works, but chiefly in man.

"Mais l'objet le plus étonnant offert à la contem-
pation des Saints, c'est l'homme" (Mart. III,p.36)

Satan to Uriel:
" Unspeakable desire to see, and know
All these his wondrous works, but chiefly man,
His chief delight and favour, him for whom
All these his works so wondrous he ordain'd,
Hath brought ~~me~~ from the quires of cherubim
Above thus wandering." Paradise Lost III,p.427(E.L.A.)

Chateaubriand has absorbed Milton's idea and transferred
it from God to the saints. To such a Heaven as this, then,
rises the prayer of Cyrille just as do the prayers of re-
pentant Adam and Eve.

"Les dernières paroles de Cyrille montèrent au
trône de l'Eternel. Le Tout-Puissant agréa le
sacrifice." (Mart. III:33).

". To Heaven their prayers
Flew up
Before the Father's throne.
Paradise Lost XI,p.644 (E.L.A.Cf D.)

Since the ruler of this Heaven intends to punish his
Church, He allows Satan to carry out his schemes against
the Church. This attitude of the Almighty may have been

suggested to Chateaubriand by Paradise Lost.

"L'Archange rebelle ignore les desseins de
l'Eternel, qui va punir l'Exclise coupable;
mais il sent que la domination sur les Fideles
lui est un moment accordée, et que le ciel le
laisse libre d'accomplir ses noirs projets.
(Mart. VIII, p.117)

"So stretch'd out huge in length the arch-fiend lay,
Chain'd on the burning lake, nor ever thence
Had risen or heav'd^h head, but that the will
And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
Left him at large to his own dark designs."
Paradise Lost I, p.350 in E.L.A.

As for Satan's plans, they include annihilation of the
Christians in Les Martyrs.

"Satan gémit de la perte de sa puissance, mais du moins
il ne cédera pas la victoire sans combat. Il jure
par l'Eternité de l'Enfer, d'anéantir les adorateurs
du vrai Dieu, . . ." (Mart. VIII, p.117. (Cf X.))

and eternal war on God in Paradise Lost.

". what though the field is lost!
All is not lost; the unconquerable will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield,
And what is else not to be overcome?

Since, through experience of this great event,
In arms not worse, in foresight much advanced,
We may with more successful hope resolve
To wage by force or guile eternal war."

Paradise Lost I, p.347-8.

He is remorseful at sight of the sufferings of his followers:

"Une larme involontaire mouille les yeux de
l'Esprit pervers, au moment où il s'enfonce dans
les royaumes de la nuit. . . . Un mouvement
de remords et de pitié saisit le coeur de l'Arch-
ange rebelle. 'C'est donc moi, s'écrie-t-il, qui

ai creusé ces prisons, et rassemblé, tous ces
maux! Sans moi le mal eût été inconnu dans les
Oeuvres du Tout-Puissant. Que m'avait fait l'
homme, cette belle et noble créature?"

The same sentiment is expressed in Paradise Lost, as
Köhler has shown:

" cruel his eye, but cast
Signs of remorse and passion, to behold
The fellows of his crime, the followers rather,
(Far other once beheld in bliss) condemn'd
For ever now to have their lot in pain!
Millions of spirits for his fault amerc'd
Of Heaven and from eternal splendours flung
For his revolt: Paradise Lost I, (p.362-3, E.I.A.)
Cf K.

Of this passage Chateaubriand says in Remarque XI,
(p.484):

"Je n'ai pris cela à personne; mais le mouvement
de remords et de pitié qui suit est une imitation
détournée du mouvement de pitié qui saisit le
Satan de Milton à la vue de l'homme."

Satan looking at Adam and Eve:-

"O Hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold?
 and this high seat your Heaven
Ill fenc'd for Heaven to keep out such a foe
As now is enter'd: yet no purpos'd foe
To you, whom I could pity thus forlorn,
Though I unpitied." Paradise Lost IV, (E.I.A. pp.442-
443) Cf K.

Thank him who puts me loth to this revenge
On you, who wrong me not for him who wrong'd.
And should I at your harmless innocence
Melt, as I do, yet public reason just,
Honour and empire with revenge enlarg'd,
By conquering this new world, compels me now
To do what else, though damn'd, I should abhor"
Paradise Lost IV, (E.I.A. p.443)

Satan when Eden is before him:

"O! then at last relent: is there no place
Left for repentance, none for pardon left?
None left, but by submission; and that word
Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame
Among the spirits beneath; whom I seduc'd
With other promises and other vaunts
Than to submit;"

Paradise Lost IV, (E.L.A.p.433-4)

Though suffering intensely when he addresses the assembly
of devils Satan endeavors to conceal his pain.

"Dissimulant les chagrins qui le dévorent, Satan
parle ainsi à l'assemblée" Mart. VIII, p.121.

The same dissimulation is to be found in Paradise Lost.

"So spake the apostate angel, though in pain;
Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep despair."
Paradise Lost I, (p.348 E.L.A.)

Chateaubriand has carried over into ^{les} Martyrs two comparisons
made about Satan, to a comet, to a tower.

"Non plus comme cet astre du matin qui nous
apporte la lumière, mais semblable à une
comète effrayante, Lucifer s'assied sur son
trône." (Mart. ~~VIII~~ p.362). VIII, p.121

". as when the sun new-risen
Looks through the horizontal misty air
Shorn of his rays." Paradise Lost ~~VIII~~ p.121 I, p.302 E.L.A.

"Satan stood
Unterrified, and like a comet burn'd
That.... from his horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war." Paradise Lost II (p.393)
Cf D.

"ou telle que dans une ville embrasée, on remarque
au milieu des édifices fumants une haute tour dont

les flammes couronnent le sommet; tel paraît
l'archange tombé au milieu de ses compagnons."
(Part. VIII, p.121)

" He above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent,
Stood like a tower." Paradise Lost I, p.362 E.I.A.

" as, when heaven's fire
Hath scathed the forest oaks or mountain pines
With singed top their stately growth, though bare,
Stands on the blasted heath." Paradise Lost I, p.363.
(CF D.)

Not only is there evidence of Miltonic influence
on Satan but also on Death and Crime - the children of
Satan - which Chateaubriand himself (p.484) compares to
Sin and Death in Paradise Lost II. Their abode in each
work is at the gates of Hell. The conversations are
alike. ^{Death}~~Sin~~ says to Satan:

"O mon père! s'écrie-t-elle, j'incline devant
toi cette tête qui ne s'abaissa jamais devant
personne. Viens-tu rassasier la faim insati-
able de ta fille?....." Part. VIII, p.118

Satan replies to ~~this question of Sin and to another~~ of
Death:

"O Mort! tu seras satisfaite et vengée: je vais
livrer à ta rage le peuple nombreux de ton unique
vainqueur". Part. VIII, p.119.

" and, this once known, shall soon return,
And bring ye to the place where thou and Death
Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen
Wing silently the buxom air, imbalm'd
With odours; there ye shall be fed and fill'd
Immeasurably; all things shall be your prey."
Paradise Lost II, p.397. (E.I.A.)

" . . . both seemed highly pleased, and Death
Grinned horrible a ghastly smile, to hear
His famine should be filled, and blessed his man
Destined to that good hour." Paradise Lost II, p.397.

Köhler would have Death's bowing to her father and the
demons' hastening to do his commands, come from Milton's
"Toward him they bend with awful reverence prone."
(Paradise Lost II, 386). This is, however, the usual
attitude of subject to king. These lesser devils re-
tain their likeness to God, though they are condemned to
everlasting punishment. In this they resemble Milton's
devils.

"Elles (les âmes condamnées) portent en elles-
-mêmes l'image ineffaçable de la beauté de Dieu...
Mart. VIII, p.120.

Abdiel at sight of Satan and revolting angels:

"O Heaven! that such resemblance of the Highest
Should yet remain, where faith and reality
Remain not: " Paradise Lost VI (E.I.A. p.498).

"Forthwith from every squadron and each band
The heads and leaders thither haste, where stood
Their great commander; godlike shapes and forms."
Paradise Lost I (E.I.A. p.355).

These, Satan's followers, bear the same names, as well,
in ^{Les} Martyrs.

"Enfin, on voit réunis dans ce conseil tous les
faux dieux des nations, et Mitra, et Baal, et
Moloch" Mart. VIII p.121.

"First Moloch, horrid King,..." Paradise Lost I, p.356.
E.I.A.

"With these came they, who from the bordering flood
Of old Euphrates to the brook that parts
Aegypt from Syrian ground, had general names
Of Baalim and Ashtaroth . . ." Paradise Lost I, p.357 E.L.A.

Astarté, too, is one of the followers of Satan.

"là sourit le Démon de la volupté: les hommes
l'appellent Vénus, l'Enfer le connaît sous le
nom d'Astarté;" Mart. VIII, p.121.

". With these in troop
Came Astoroth, whom the Phoenicians call'd
Astarte," Paradise Lost, I, (P.357 E.L.A.)

Similarity is more than superficial since to two of the
genies of Les Martyrs are transferred the characters of the
Miltonic Belial and Moloch.

"Là raisonne le Génie de la fausse sagesse." Mart. VIII,
p.121.

Belial.
But all was false and hollow, though his tongue
Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest counsels; Paradise Lost II, (E.L.A. p.374)

"Là rugit l'Esprit de la guerre." Mart. VIII, p.121.
Cf K.

Moloch - "the fiercest spirit
That fought in Heaven". Paradise Lost II (p.372ff. E.L.A.)

Dick (p.38) has called our attention to the fact that in
Chateaubriand as well as in Milton the subordinate demons
are the gods of Olympus.

When all these powers of darkness have assembled,
Satan addresses them in the fashion which was mentioned
in our study of Les Natchez. (Cf. Les Natchez p.215. Romans 8:38.

Dick p.34, and K.)

"Dieux des nations, trônes, ardeurs, guerriers
généreux, milices invincibles, race noble et in-
dépendante, magnanimes enfants de cette forte
patrie, le jour de gloire est arrivé."
(Mart.VIII, pp. 121-2).

"Powers and Dominions, Deities of Heaven!"
Paradise Lost II, p.371

"Princes, Heaven's ancient Sons, ether^eal Thrones."
Paradise Regained II, v.121.

"Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers!"
Paradise Lost X, p.621.

Both God and his Arch-enemy address their followers in
this way in Milton. This same enumeration is used in
the last book of ^{Les}Martyrs but not in addressing the powers
concerned.

"Les Anges, les Trônes, les Dominations prosternés,
entraînaient, saisis de joie," Mart. XXIV, p.351.

Compare ^{the} way in which God addresses ^{the}Heavens, for example:

"Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions."
Paradise Lost III (p.416 E.L.A.)

Satan bids the assembled hosts deliberate on the quickest
way (in Milton: the best way) of conquering the Christians.

"...faisons donc tous ensemble un nouvel effort,
afin de renverser cette Croix qui nous menace;
et délibérons sur les moyens les plus prompts
de parvenir à cette victoire." Mart. VIII, p.122.

" we now return
 To claim our just inheritance of old,
 and, by what best way,
 Whether of open war or covert guile
We now debate: Paradise Lost II, (p.372 E.L.A.)

"Le démon de l'homicide" advises an immense and final
 massacre of the Christians.

"Qu'est il besoin de délibérer? Faut-il pour
 détruire les peuples du Christ d'autres
 moyens que des bourreaux et des flammes?....
 Qu'un immense et dernier massacre fasse nager
 les autels de notre ennemi dans le sang de
 ses adorateurs...." Mart. VIII, p.122-3.

Köhler suggests that this is inspired by Moloch's de-
 claration for open war.

Moloch:

"My sentence is for open war: of wiles,
 More inexpert, I boast not. "
Paradise Lost II, (p.372)

Finally the devil submits to his subjects the universe.

This may possibly be a recollection of Book 10 of Paradise
Lost where Satan returns victorious to Hell.

Satan to ^{the} council:

"Je vous ai soumis l'univers." Mart. VIII, p.122.

".... now possess,
 As lords, a spacious world, to our native Heaven
 Little inferior, by my adventure hard
 With peril great achiev'd." Paradise Lost X,
(p.622 E.L.A.)

The last point of likeness, which has already
 been designated by Chateaubriand, is a comparison of Hell

to the "womb of nature" etc. of Milton. The "perhaps" which qualifies the second part of the comparison in Milton is omitted in Chateaubriand. Satan comes down to Hell to consult with his followers

"régions maudites, tombe et berceau de la mort, où le temps ne fait point la règle, et qui resteront encore quand l'univers aura été enlevé ainsi qu'une tente dressée pour un jour".
Mart. VIII, p. 117.

"This wild abyss
The womb of nature, and perhaps hergrave
Paradise Lost II, (p. 309 E.L.A.)
 Cf K.

From the preceding demonstration it is evident that the "merveilleux" plays a far larger part in ^{Les} Martyrs than in Les Natchez, though it still ^{furnishes} only the background of the work. What is essential in Milton has become here merely an external framework, a setting, in which Chateaubriand places the actual plot of Les Martyrs.

The next large group of borrowings has to do with the epic features of Paradise Lost. The opening lines of ^{Les} Martyrs, "Muse céleste, vous qui inspirâtes le poète de Sorrente et l'aveugle d'Albion" show that Chateaubriand has Milton in mind. Dick's comparison of the invocations of the two epics is based on very slight evidence, to my mind. Again, in the invocation of Book XII,

Chateaubriand recalls the beginning of Paradise Lost, though both may draw their inspiration from the Bible.

"Esprit-Saint, qui fécondas le vaste abîme en le couvrant de tes ailes, ~~et~~ c'est à présent que j'ai besoin de ton secours!" Mart. XII, p.173.

"And chiefly thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
Before all temples the upright heart and pure,
Instruct me, for thou know'st: Thou from the first
Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread
Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss.
And mad'st it pregnant." Paradise Lost I (p.344 E.L.A.)

The invocation in Book XXIV states Chateaubriand's relations to his muse in much the same way ^{as} ~~that~~ Milton has done in Book III of Paradise Lost. Dick would have Chateaubriand follow Milton blindly here. Would it not be possible for each one to express the same thought independently, since each one had "fallen on evil days" at one time or another in his life?

In the combat between the Barbarians and the Romans, we find the clashing of swords and hiss of the darts which characterize the battle between the angels and the devils in Paradise Lost VI. as well as all battles described in epic poetry.

"Au milieu des cris, des insultes, des menaces, du bruit des épées, des coups des javelots, du sifflement des flèches et des dards, du gémissement des machines de guerre, on n'entend plus la voix des chefs." Mart. VI, p.91.

"Now storming fury rose,
And clamour such as heard in Heaven till now
Was never; arms on armour clashing bray'd

Horrible discord, and the madding wheels
 Of brazen chariots rag'd: dire was the noise
 Of conflict; over head the dismal hiss
Of fiery darts in flaming volleys flew,
Paradise Lost VI (p.501, E.L.A.)

Another epic touch is the influencing of Hiéroclès by the demon of jealousy in a dream which recalls a similar method of influencing Eve in Paradise Lost. (IV, E.L.A., p. 456-7, and V, E.L.A. p.465-6). An additional epic device consists in the transformations of Satan and his satellites, several examples of which occur in Les Martyrs (compare Mart. XXIII:328, Satan becomes Tagès, chief of the sooth-sayers and in Paradise Lost, Satan takes on the form of a serpent...) Additional examples: "Le démon de la fausse sagesse becomes a sophist (Mart.XVI:231). Satan becomes a centurion who is to arrest Cymodocée, (Mart.XVIII,p.270).

"The formal catalogue and the geographical survey, with its wealth of allusion and reminiscence," says Roberts(ModernLanguageReview,1910,p.425-6), "is not infrequent in Les Martyrs." This device is used here in addressing the demons who attend the council as well as in Les Natchez, as we have seen. A far more elaborate use of this effect is to be found in the various "récits" which occur throughout Les Martyrs. This is an old epic device which Milton employs effectively in Paradise Lost, allowing Satan, Adam and Eve,

Raphael and Gabriel to give an account of things that have happened or will happen outside the limits of the poem. Within each individual "récit" in Chateaubriand there are reminiscences of Paradise Lost. L'Ange des mers reminds Gabriel of that part of the creation which most concerned him.

L'Ange des mers à Gabriel: (Gen. 1:6.)
 "j'étais présent quand il divisa en deux
parts les eaux de l'abîme." Mart. XV, p. 222.

"And God made
 The firmament, expanse of liquid, pure,
 Transparent, elemental air, diffus'd
 In circuit to the uttermost convex
 Of this great round; partition firm and sure,
The waters underneath from those above
Dividing:" Paradise Lost VII (p. 532-3 E.L.A.)

L'Ange des mers:
 "Il couvrit Léviathan d'une cuirasse de fer
 et l'envoya se jouer dans ces gouffres... et il les
 peupla de poissons et d'oiseaux!" Mart. XV, p. 222.

"There Leviathan,
 Hugest of living creatures, on the deep
 Stretch'd like a promontory, sleeps or swims,"
Paradise Lost VII, p. 537.

"Let the waters generate
 Reptiles with spawn abundant, living soul
 And let fowl fly above the earth."
Paradise Lost VII, p. 536-7.

It is Eudore, however, who uses this device most frequently. So, in entertaining his father's guests, Cymodocée and Démodocus, he sings of the creation¹

1

Mart. II, pp. 29-30: de la lumière qu'une parole a faite (Paradise Lost VII, 532 E.L.A.), la terre produisant les arbres (Ibid., VII, p. 534), et les animaux (Ibid., VII, 539), l'homme, créé à l'image de Dieu (Ibid., VII, 541) Eve tirée du côté d'Adam (Ibid., VIII, 500) les holocaustes de Caïn et d'Abel (Ibid., XI, 657) les jours d'Abraham (Ibid., XII, 677).

of the world and of the descendants of Adam and Eve, which may be a résumé of Books VII, VIII, XI & XII of Paradise Lost which in turn are inspired by Chapters 1 - 4 of Genesis (Smead p.88) Later, in his recital of his fall from grace, Eudore recalls Adam's banishment from Paradise.

"Ainsi qu'Adam banni du paradis terrestre,
je me trouve seul dans un monde couvert
de ronces et d'épines, et maudit à cause
de ma chute." Mart. IV, p.61.

God to Adam:

"Thorns and thistles it (the earth) shall bring
thee forth".¹ Paradise Lost X, (E.L.A.613)

Continuing the tale of his wanderings Eudore says:

"Ainsi renaissaient pour moi ces jours du
berceau du monde, alors que le premier
homme, exempt de souillure, voyait les bêtes
de la création s'jouer autour de leur roi,
et lui demander le nom qu'elles porteraient
au désert. Mart. XI p.164.

recalling these lines from Paradise Lost:

". each bird and beast behold
Approaching two and two; these cowering low
With blandishment: each bird stoop'd on his wing.
I nam'd them as they passed, and understood
Their nature;²" Paradise Lost VIII, p.556-7.

The same character introduces another "récit" into his own at this point, namely, that of the hermit Paul. The first point of likeness between this account and that

¹ Compare Genesis, 3:17.

² Genesis, 2:20 a possible common source.

of the angel in Paradise Lost is the place whence the vision is seen, says^M Dick.° —

"... au lever du jour nous (Paul et Eudore)
atteignîmes la pointe la plus élevée du
mont Colzim ". Mart. XI, p.167.

". It was a hill,
Of Paradise the highest.."
which the angel and Adam ascend. Paradise Lost XI,
p.655.

From this vantage point in each case a great expanse
of land lies before them.

"Un horizon immense s'étendait en cercle
autour de nous." Mart. XI, p.167.

". from whose top,
The hemisphere of earth, in clearest ken,
Stretch'd out to th'amplest reach of prospect lay."
Paradise Lost XI, p.655.

Besides this similarity of setting there is still
another more general one. The Angel in Paradise Lost
XI & XII tells Adam about the future of the race only,
whereas Paul reviews for Eudore the past and prophesies
the future of Christianity. (cf Mart. XI, p.167 ff.)

In seeking to explain his religion to Cymodocée,
Eudore makes frequent allusions to Adam and Eve. Some
of these may have with Milton a common source; but others
come from Milton alone. In speaking of the creation of
man Chateaubriand with Milton has used the Biblical "dust
of the ground" Gen. 2:7 and has ^{man}placed in a garden Gen. 2:7.

In qualifying the garden, though, he has followed Milton only and made it "délicieux".

"Delicious Paradise." Paradise Lost IV, p.435 Cf K.

"Lorsque le Tout-Puissant eut formé le premier homme du limon de la terre il le plaça dans un jardin plus délicieux que les bois de l'Arcadie."

Mart. XII,p.181.

"This said, he form'd thee, Adam; thee, O man!
Dust of the ground, and in thy nostrils breath'd
The breath of life:
He brought thee into this delicious grove,
This garden,"Paradise Lost VII,p.541.Cf K.

"Des jardins délicieux s'étendent. . . .
l'onde mystérieuse se partage en divers
canaux." Mart. III,p.34.

Eudore proceeds with this story and continues to follow Milton in that Adam finds his solitary state wearisome and asks God for a companion. In Genesis, 2:18, it is God who takes the initiative.

"Bientôt l'homme trouva sa solitude trop profonde, et pria le Créateur de lui donner une compagne." Mart. XII,p.181.

Adam to God:

"In solitude
What happiness? who can enjoy alone,
Or, all enjoying, what contentment find?
.
of fellowship I speak,
Such as I seek, fit to participate
All rational delight;"Paradise Lost VIII,p.557,558.

God, therefore, hearing his prayers

"tira du côté d'Adam une créature divine."
Mart. XII,p.181.

as in Milton:

"Who stooping, open'd my left side, and took
From thence a rib, with cordial spirits warm,
.



"The rib he form'd and fashion'd with his hands;
Under his forming hands a creature grew,
Man-like, but different sex; so lovely fair..."
Paradise Lost VIII, p.560.

The relation between this newly-made, fair creature and Adam is expressed in practically the same words by Chateaubriand and Milton.

"Adam était formé pour la puissance et la valeur, Eve pour la soumission et les grâces;" Mart. VII, p.182.

"For contemplation he and valour form'd,
For softness she and sweet attractive grace;"
Paradise Lost IV, p. 440 E.L.A.
cf. Rem. XXI^e L.M., p.531

The majority of the items which are similar in Paradise Lost and ^{Les} Martyrs in these "récits" are in the end of Biblical origin. By way of parenthesis in one of Eudore's speeches we have a statement about the inexplicability of God's ways which has its counterpart in Milton and the Bible and has become a commonplace.

"tant les voies de Dieu sont inexplicables!"
Mart. V, p.69.

Adam:
"Inexplicable
Thy justice seems." Paradise Lost X, p.631.

"To attain
The highth and depth of thy eternal ways
All human thoughts come short, Supreme of things!"
Paradise Lost VIII, p.558.

Likewise, there is interpolated by Chateaubriand in a speech by the demon of jealousy to Satan, an allusion

to the crushing of Satan's head by the woman's **foot**.

By way of parenthesis "le Démon de la jalousie" to Satan:

"une femme a écrasé ta tête orgueilleuse"
Mart. XIV, p.201.¹

"et Satan lui-même, renverse au milieu
 des ruines de son empire, avait la tête
 écrasée sous le pied d'une femme."

Mart. VIII, p.122.

Cf. Paradise Lost X, p.613 E.I.A.

In the invocation of ^{Les}Martyrs, there is, then some influence of Milton. The struggle between the "barbares" and the Christians in ^{Les}Martyrs has several points in common with the combat of God and Satan as well as with all epics. In both works the devil carries out his purposes through dreams and through changing his appearance. The conclave is an additional characteristic of the epic borrowed by Chateaubriand. Finally comes the catalogue of names and places and more especially the recital of adventures in which, as well as in this whole class of borrowings, the Bible plays a large part.

The final group is the same as in Les Natchez. Here, there is a decided increase in the number of borrowings from Milton over the number found in the earlier work. In describing a night in Greece:

¹

Cf. Gen. 3:15.
Rom. 16:20.

"C'était une de ces nuits dont les ombres transparentes semblent craindre de cacher le beau ciel de la Grèce: ce n'étaient point des ténèbres, c'était seulement l'absence du jour". Mart. I, p.7.

Chateaubriand seems to have remembered the twilight of Heaven described in these words by Milton:

" the face of brightest Heaven had chang'd
To grateful twilight (for night comes not there
In darker veil)" Paradise Lost, V, p.485 T.I.A.

Also an example of the expressions of light is the "colonne de feu et de nuées" which is seen by the Barbarians at the head of the Christian legion in the combat.

"Ils ont conté qu'ils voyaient à la tête de cette légion une colonne de feu et de nuées. . ." Mart. VI, p.93.

This is undoubtedly from Milton:

"Then through the fiery pillar and the cloud,
God looking forth will trouble all his host,"
Paradise Lost XII, p.680 E.L.A.

since the Bible states (Ex. 13:21) distinctly: "by day in a pillar of cloud and by night in a pillar of fire..." Milton also had in mind two distinct things, — but Chateaubriand, through his imperfect knowledge of English or imperfect understanding of the passage, has combined the two into "une colonne de feu et de nuées".

This leads us to Chateaubriand's use of more

brilliant terms taken from Milton, "the flaming chariot wheels" of the Son's living chariot are borrowed from Milton,

"Près de lui est son char vivant, dont les
roues lancent des foudres et des éclairs.
Mart. III, p.38.

" thou that day
Thy father's dreadful thunder didst not spare,
Nor stop thy flaming chariot-wheels, that shook
Heaven's everlasting frame; "
Paradise Lost, III, p.418 E.I.A.
Cf K.

"..Forth rush'd with whirlwind sound
The chariot of paternal Deity,
Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel
undrawn,
(Itself instinct with spirit, but convoy'd
By four cherubic shapes; four faces each,
Had wondrous; as with stars, their bodies all
And wings were set with eyes; with eyes the wheel,
Of beryl, and careering fires between; ")
Paradise Lost VI, p.516 E.I.A.

as is also the term living applied to this chariot.

"Nor less on either side tempestuous fell
His arrows, and from the living wheels"
Paradise Lost VI, p.521 E.I.A.

Flaming too are the swords of God's army and the golden shields are studded with diamonds.

"autour de lui ses immortels compagnons se
couvrent de leurs cuirasses étincelantes.
Les boucliers de diamants et d'or, le
carquois du Seigneur, les épées flamboy-
antes, sont détachés des portiques éternels."
Mart. III, p.42.

"Celestial armoury, shields, helms, spears,
Hung high with diamond flaming, and with gold."
Paradise Lost IV, p.448 E.L.A. Cf K.

The walls of Heaven itself are made of jasper and adorned with sapphires and diamonds. Milton's living sapphire becomes "architecture vivante" in Chateaubriand.

"L'Eternel en posa lui-même les douze
fondements, et l'environna de cette muraille
de jaspe, que le disciple bien aimé vit
mesurer par l'Ange avec une toise d'or....
Là règnent suspendues des galeries de
saphirs et de diamants Cette architecture
est vivante." Mart. III, p.33.

Here Chateaubriand has combined three passages from
Paradise Lost.

"Now in loose garlands thick thrown off, the bright
Pavement, that like a sea of jasper shone,
Impurpled with celestial roses smil'd."
Paradise Lost III, p.417 E.L.A. ~~GM~~

" far distant he descries,
Ascending by degrees magnificent
Up to the wall of Heaven, a structure high:
At top whereof, but far more rich, appear'd
The work as of a kingly palace gate,
With frontispiece of diamond and gold
Embellish'd; thick with sparkling orient gems
The portal shone, inimitable on earth
By model, or by shading pencil, drawn. Paradise Lost III, p.422 E.L.A.
Weights his spread wings [Satan] at leisure,
to behold
Far off th'empyreal heav'n, extended wide
In circuit, undetermin'd square or round,
With opal tow'rs, and battlements adorn'd
Of living sapphire, once his native seat;
Paradise Lost II, p.403-4 E.L.A.

Köhler adds the "cent noeuds de diamant" with which
Satan is held fast in Hell - comparing them to the

adamantine chains in Milton used for the same purpose.

"Lié par cent noeuds de diamant sur un trône de bronze, le démon de désespoir domine l'empire des chagrins."

Mart. VIII, p.119.

"With hideous ruin and combustion down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In adamantine chains and penal fire."

Paradise Lost I, p.345 E.L.A. Cf K.

In Les Martyrs we find the same use of gold made as in Les Natchez. In Milton the tree of knowledge is laden with fruit that is "ruddy and gold". Chateaubriand fails to speak of the fruit of this tree but makes its foliage golden.

~~The~~ Serpent describes ^{the} tree of knowledge:
"A goodly tree far distant I behold
Loaden with fruit of fairest colours mix'd,
Ruddy and gold:" Paradise Lost IX, p.586 E.L.A.

In Heaven in Mart. III, p.34.

"...l'Arbre de science étend de toutes parts
ses racines profondes et ses rameaux in-
nombrables: il porte, cachés sous son feuillage
d'or, les secrets de la Divinité...."

We have elsewhere in ^{Les} Martyrs however, "un citron doré" which is filled with ashes like the fruitage fair to sight - which the demons plucked.

"....ils descendaient dans la vallée du Jourdain. Cymodocée, tourmentée d'une soif dévorante, cueille sur un arbrisseau un fruit semblable à un citron doré; mais lorsqu'elle le porte à sa bouche, elle le trouve rempli d'une cendre amère et calcinée."
Mart. XIX, p.280.

" Greedily they pluck'd
 The fruitage fair to sight. . .
 . . . they fondly thinking to allay
 Their appetite with rust, instead of fruit
 Chew'd bitter ashes, 1
Paradise Lost X, p.625 E.L.A.

Mention has already been made of the "balances d'or"
 (Mart. XII, p.175 Paradise Lost IV, p.463 E.L.A.)

The golden hinges of the gates of Heaven in Paradise
Lost become in ^{Les} Martyrs the silver and gold hinges of
 the doors of the temple.

"Cymodocée contemple en silence les
 merveilles chrétiennes: fille de la Grèce,
 elle admire les chefs-d'oeuvre des arts créés
 par la puissance de la foi au milieu des dé-
 serts. Les portes du nouvel édifice attirent
 surtout ses regards. Elles étaient de bronze
 et roulaient sur des gonds d'argent et d'or."
Mart. XVII, p.250.

"Heaven open'd wide
 Her ever-during gates, harmonious sound,
 On golden hinges moving, "
Paradise Lost VII, p.530 E.L.A.

Color again enters ^{into} a comparison in ^{Les} Martyrs XIII, p.196 in
 which the serpent recalls the "play" of the serpent in
Paradise Lost . .

Cymodocée has just taken leave of her father.
 "et la Chrétienne désignée se sentait, en
 dépit d'elle-même, domptée par le génie du
 père des fables: ainsi, lorsqu'un ^{serpent d'or et d'acier roule} pré ses
 écailles changeantes, il lève une ^{au sein d'un} crête de
 pourpre au milieu des fleurs, dardé une
 triple langue de feu, et lance des regards
 étincelants;" Mart. XIII, p.196.

1

Chateaubriand has already used this in Les Natchez
 (Cf. p.47 of this manuscript).

"He, bolder now, uncall'd before her stood,
 But as in gaze admiring; oft he bow'd
 His turret crest, and sleek enamell'd neck,
 Fawning, and lick'd the ground whereon she trod.
 His gentle dumb expression turn'd at length
 The eye of Eve, to mark his play;"

Paradise Lost IX, p.585 W.L.A.

Another source may have been the author's own Génie.

"Tantôt il se forme en cercle, et darde
 une langue de feu; tantôt, debout sur
 l'extrémité de sa queue, il marche dans
 une attitude perpendiculaire, comme par
 enchantement. Il se jette en orbe,
 monte et s'abaisse en spirale, roule ses
 anneaux comme une onde, circule sur les
 branches des arbres, glisse sous l'herbe
 des prairies, ou sur la surface des eaux.
 Ses couleurs sont aussi peu déterminées
 que sa marche; elles changent aux divers
 aspects de la lumière, et, comme ses
 mouvements, elles ont le faux brillant
 et les variétés trompeuses de la séduction."

Génie, Part. I, Book III, Chapter 2, p.62.

M. Giraud and M. Gschwind, include this passage in
 their Les Variantes des Martyrs (R.H.L. 1904;p.130).
 The first edition (T. II,p.27) has "une crête superbe"
 which is nearer Milton's "turret crest" than "une tête
 de pourpre" of the édition Ladvocat II, p.183 which adds
 the color. In the final reading pourpre has remained.
 Other coloring merely suggested by Milton is made de-
 finitely "or et azur" in Chateaubriand.

Chateaubriand has adopted in ^{Les} Martyrs Milton's
 evident fondness for light, both subdued and brilliant,
 for precious stones for metals and for color. Gold and

blue, either sapphire or azur, predominate in these borrowings.

By way of comparison one allusion to the subject treated in Paradise Lost enters Les Martyrs

"Depuis le jour où Satan vit la première femme porter à sa bouche le fruit de mort, il n'avait pas ressenti une telle joie." Mart. XVIII, p.257.

This may be a reminiscence of the following passage from Paradise Lost and may again go back to Genesis.

"So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the fruit, she pluck'd, she eat!"
Paradise Lost IX p.593 E.L.A.

Another unclassified example is to be found in Hiéroclès - the villain's - awe when, with Cymodocée finally in his power, he stands for the first time in her presence.

"Hiéroclès demeure un moment interdit devant l'autorité de l'innocence, de la faiblesse et du malheur." Mart. XX, p.297.

This passage resembles that in Paradise Lost in which Satan experiences the same feeling at first sight of Eve.

" her heavenly form,
Angelic, but more soft and feminine,
Her graceful innocence, her every air
Of gesture, or least action, overaw'd
His malice, and with rapine sweet, bereav'd
His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought:
From his own evil," Paradise Lost IX, p.583 E.L.A.

The robe of innocence is one of the things for which Daethnes prays, recalling perhaps these words of Paradise Lost ". . . innocence, that as veil
Had shadow'd them from knowing ill, was gone,
Just confidence, and native righteousness,
And honour, from about them, naked left
To guilty shame:" Paradise Lost, IX p.601 E.L.A.)

Lasthènes in his evening prayer says:
 "Nous allons quitter les vêtements du jour,
 couvrez-nous de la robe d'innocence et
 D'immortalité que nous avons perdue par
 la désobéissance de nos premiers pères."
Mart. II, p.23.

The last borrowing, which may here be included, is
 one suggested by ^{M.}Dick. Chateaubriand says in comparing
 Heaven and earth:

"Si l'on peut comparer les grandes choses
 aux petits objets." Mart. III, p.36.

This, says ^{M.}Dick, is taken word for word from Milton's

"So, if great things with small may be compared."
Paradise Lost X, p. 617 E.L.A.

but ^{it} is simply ^{the imitation of} a well-known line from the Georgics (IV, p.176)

"si parva licet componere magnis". It is hardly
 possible that Chateaubriand could have taken this line

from Milton since he knew his Virgil far too well to
 have to obtain this comparison from a secondary source.

This is simply another instance in which Dick has made
 a mistake.

The "merveilleux" is but little pronounced in
Les Natchez and though far more extensively used in ^{Les}Martyrs
 it never enters the action of the story, but remains
 always as its background. Though many individual de-
 tails have been borrowed from Milton they have lost their
 original importance. In Paradise Lost, God, the angels,

Satan and his followers are well defined characters who play their part in the plot. On the other hand, much that is found in Paradise Lost as "récits", takes the same form when borrowed by Chateaubriand. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the "récits" are essential to the whole in Paradise Lost and not so in Les Natchez and Les Martyrs. The only characteristics of the epic found in Les Natchez as well as in Paradise Lost are the council and the accumulation of terms which is a peculiarity of style taken over by Chateaubriand. The same things occur in Les Martyrs together with additional epic traits, such as, the use of invocations. In the description of the battle, moreover, in Les Martyrs, Chateaubriand has borrowed from Milton the conventional details of the epic. By using dreams, metamorphoses, and "récits", he has followed Les Martyrs in the time-worn path. More detailed likenesses to Milton are found in the body of the various "récits" in Les Martyrs where Chateaubriand uses the descriptive "délicieux" and certain other words which are decidedly Miltonic. It is the picturesque detail which he borrows again in describing heavenly things, using the terms denoting brilliance, colors, and gems. Influence then is external only.

Whereas the influence of Milton on Les Patchez and Les Martyrs consists of borrowings, which are chiefly external, in the Génie it consists of criticism by Chateaubriand of Paradise Lost. The criticism of Milton after Chateaubriand's return to France and before the Génie is practically negligible. The English estimate of Milton is stated in "De l'Angleterre et des Anglais", 1800. (Voyages et Mélanges littéraires, p.332):

"C'est à Dryden et à Milton qu'on donne exclusivement le titre de poètes".

In 1801 (Voyages et Mélanges littéraires, p.338) Milton is compared favorably with Young.

"Combien Milton est supérieur au chanteur des Nuits, dans la noblesse de la douleur! Rien n'est beau comme ces quatre vers qui terminent le Paradis Perdu."

In part II of the Génie, which treats of la Poétique du Christianisme under the "Vue générale des épopées chrétiennes", Chateaubriand discusses Paradise Lost. In Book II of this same part he continues with the characters, opposing Adam and Eve to Ulysses and Penelope. He illustrates his points by quoting one or two lines of various passages, some of the best in Paradise Lost, and by translating the remainder. Having considered poetry in its relation to man, he proceeds to its relation to supernatural beings. Under this discussion of "le

merveilleux", Chateaubriand compares the divinities of Christianity with those of Paganism, using the angels, Satan, and God of Paradise Lost as examples of the former. Satan's character is treated in a separate chapter in which Chateaubriand again includes his translation of certain of those parts of Paradise Lost dealing with this character. Chateaubriand continues to speak of these supernatural beings in his chapters on the "Machines poétiques", where he examines "Raphaël au Berceau d'Eden", "Satan allant à la découverte de la Création" and "l'entrée de l'enfer".

If we study these criticisms in detail we find that they present the beauties of Paradise Lost as a Christian poem. In the very first chapter of the Génie, Chateaubriand says that "le Tasse, Milton, Corneille, Racine, Voltaire, vous retracent ses miracles (du christianisme)" (Génie, 1^e part., l. I, chap. 1, p. 6) and again, in the chapter on Paradise Lost ... "on y trouve des beautés supérieures, qui tiennent essentiellement à notre religion". (Génie 2^e part., l. I, chap. 3, p. 157). As a specific beauty he considers Adam's first awakening and reactions to the world about him.

"Rien de plus auguste et de plus intéressant que cette étude des premiers mouvements du coeur de l'homme."

Then Chateaubriand reviews Paradise Lost VIII (pp. 553 ff. E.I.A.)

"Que Milton est sublime dans ce passage!
 Mais se fût-il élevé à ces pensées s'il
 n'eût connu la religion de Jésus Christ?"
Génie: 2^e part., l. I, chap. 3, p.158-9
 (Cf also E.L.A.)

"Le poète continue à développer ces
 grandes vues de la nature humaine,
 cette sublime raison du christianisme."
Génie: 2^e part., l. I, chap. 3, p. 159.

This he does by making Eve's fall due to her "amour propre"
 just as Scripture always pictures woman as slave of her
 vanity. After the fall, the angels experience "That
 sadness mixt with pity (which) did not alter their bliss".
 Of this line Chateaubriand says "mot chrétien et d'une
 tendresse sublime". (Génie: 2^e part., l. I, chap.3, p.160).
 Finally Adam and Eve conscience stricken are repentant and
 pray to God. "Le Très-Haut", says Chateaubriand, "se
 laisse fléchir, et accorde le salut final de l'homme."

"Milton s'est emparé avec beaucoup d'art de
 ce premier mystère des Ecritures; il a mêlé
 partout l'histoire d'un Dieu qui, dès le
 commencement des siècles, se dévoue à la
 mort pour racheter l'homme de la mort."
Génie: 2^e part., l. I, chap. 3, p.162.

In the character of Satan, too, Milton has followed
 the teachings of Christianity.

"Nous verrons incessamment quel usage Milton
 a fait du caractère d'orgueil, donné par le
Christianisme au prince des ténèbres. Le
 poète, pouvant en outre attacher un ange du mal
 à chaque vice, dispose ainsi d'un essaim de
 divinités infernales. Il a même alors la véri-
 table allégorie, sans avoir la sécheresse qui

l'accompagne, ces esprits pervers étant en effet des êtres réels, et tels que la religion nous permet de les croire."

Génie 2^e part., l. 4, Chap. 6, p.251.

We may conclude with Chateaubriand's statement in the Défense

"La Jérusalem délivrée, le Paradis perdu, Polyeucte, Esther, Athalie, sont devenus (depuis) de véritables apologies en faveur de la beauté de la religion".

Défense du Génie. p. XVIII.

As for the subject of Paradise Lost,

"Milton ne vous entretient ni de batailles, ni de jeux funèbres, ni de camps, ni de villes assiégées; il retrace la première pensée de Dieu, manifestée dans la création du monde, et les premières pensées de l'homme au sortir des mains du Créateur".

Génie 2^e part., l. I, chap. 3, p.158.

Though creation is the subject of Paradise Lost, the objection made about Dante's Inferno may apply here, that is, the "merveilleux" is the subject rather than the "machine".

"On peut reprocher au Paradis perdu de Milton ainsi qu'à l'Enfer du Dante, le défaut dont nous avons parlé, le merveilleux est le sujet et non la machine de l'ouvrage;"

Génie. 2^e part., l. I, chap. 3, p.157.

The Génie also contains a contradictory statement but does not apply it to Paradise Lost in so many words.

"Tout est machine et ressort, tout est extérieur, tout est fait pour les yeux dans les tableaux du paganisme; tout est sentiment et pensée, tout est intérieur, tout est créé pour l'âme dans les

peintures de la religion chrétienne."

Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, chap. 16, p. 275-6.

What, we ask, would be left of Paradise Lost if the "merveilleux" were removed, or if it were only "la machine", as Chateaubriand seems to think it should be? Yet, in the Génie, Chateaubriand's concern for Paradise Lost is centered in the "merveilleux" itself.

The first of the characters considered here is God.

"Le Dieu des armées marchant dans une nuée obscure à la tête des légions fidèles n'est pas une petite image, le glaive exterminateur se dévoilant tout à coup aux yeux de l'impie frappe d'étonnement et de terreur".
Génie, 2^e part., ~~24~~¹⁴, chap. 4, p. 247.

Of God's arch-enemy Chateaubriand says:

"Satan s'apprêtant à combattre Michel dans le paradis terrestre est superbe."
Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, chap. 4, p. 247.

Only once is Chateaubriand adverse in his criticism of the portrayal of the devil. Even here Milton is to be excused since he followed his predecessors and since he soon returns to his grandest manner.

"Entraîné par ces autorités (Dante et le Tasse), Milton a eu le mauvais goût de mesurer son Satan, mais il se relève bientôt d'une manière sublime."
Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, chap. 3, p. 256.

To prove the final assertion, Chateaubriand translates several passages from Paradise Lost, closing with Satan's

famous apostrophe to the sun. (Paradise Lost Book I.).

He adds this final statement:

"Milton a fait entrer dans le caractère de son *Satan* les *persévérances* ces hommes qui, vers le commencement du dix-septième siècle, couvrent l'Angleterre de deuil; on y sent la même obstination, le même enthousiasme, le même orgueil, le même esprit de rébellion et d'indépendance;"
Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, chap. 9, p.258.

Milton has put into this character his own experience.

By failing to make Eve perfect, he prepares the way for the catastrophe -

"Cependant Milton n'a pas voulu peindre son Eve parfaite; il l'a représentée irrésistible par les charmes, mais un peu indiscrete et amante de paroles, afin qu'on prévît le malheur où ce défaut va l'entraîner."
Génie, 2^e part., l. 2, chap. 3, p. 181.

This same character is

"admirablement tracé dans la fatale chute."
(Génie, 2^e part., l. I, chap. 3, p. 159.)

Adam is praised with the single word "majestueux". Beside him Enée "est un froid et triste personnage." (Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, chap. 10, p.259).

In addition to these comments on the characters we find certain indications of the dramatic or tragic elements in the poem. Later, in the E.I.A., Chateaubriand gives an early plan of Milton's, which made of Paradise Lost a tragedy.

"Les adieux d'Hector et d'Andromaque, ...
Didon à Carthage, Adam et Eve, sont
de véritables tragédies, où il ne manque
que la division des scènes et le nom des
interlocuteurs."

Génie, 2^e part., l. I, chap. 1, p.154.

To this general statement he adds a few more detailed
ones, the first dealing with the opening of the poem:

"L'ouverture du poème se fait aux enfers,
et pourtant ce début n'a rien qui choque
la règle de simplicité prescrite par
Aristote."

Génie, 2^e part., l. I, chap 3, p. 157.

Of the dialogue between God and Adam after the fall
he says:

"Quel dialogue! cela n'est point d'invention
humaine." Génie, 2^e part., l. I, chap. 3, p.160.

Another good scene is that between Adam and Eve,

"dans laquelle on prétend que Milton a consacré
un événement de sa vie, un raccourci entre
lui et sa première femme."

Génie, 2^e part., l. I, chap 3, p.161.

the conclusion, says Chateaubriand, is unique for

"Milton est le premier poète qui ait conclu
l'épopée par le malheur du principal per-
sonnage, contre la règle généralement
adoptée."

Génie, 2^e part., l. I, chap.3, p.158.

In the Génie (1^e part., l. I, chap.1, p.7) Chateau-
briand says that "Homère vient se placer auprès de Milton".
We are not surprised, then, to find that a great number
of Chateaubriand's criticisms are made by way of comparison

with the ancients. In the description of Hell, Milton is on a level with his predecessors.

"Ni le Dante, ni le Tasse, ni Milton ne sont parfaits dans la peinture des lieux de douleur."

Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, chap. 13, p. 268.

In Satan's apostrophe to the Sun, however, he surpasses Homer for

"Quelle que soit notre admiration pour Homère, nous sommes obligés de convenir qu'il n'a rien de comparable à ce passage de Milton."

Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, chapter 9, p. 258.

The position of Death at the entrance of Hell, is the same in Vergil and Milton; but the character of ~~Death~~, as pictured by Milton, is unknown in antiquity.

"Jamais fantôme n'a été représenté d'une manière plus vague et plus terrible. L'origine de la Mort, racontée par le Péché, la manière dont les échos de l'enfer répètent le nom redoutable.... tout cela est une sorte de noir sublime, inconnu de l'antiquité."

Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, chap. 14, p. 269.

The angels of whom the author speaks, as well as of the devils, have the same fault as Homer's gods:

"de l'une part, et de l'autre part ce sont des divinités pour lesquelles on ne peut craindre, puisqu'elles ne peuvent mourir."

Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, chap. 4, p. 247. Cf Marmontel:

"Mais quel effet produire sur l'âme des hommes avec de pures intelligences, sans passions, ni vices, ni vertus, qui n'ont plus rien à espérer à désirer ni à craindre, et dont une

tranquillité éternelle est l'immobile élément? Voyez aussi combien est absurde et puéril, dans le poème de Milton, le péril où il met les anges, et leur combat contre les démons?"

Marmontel, Oeuvres IV, 701.

Of the struggle between these two powers:

"On ne trouve rien dans l'Illiade qui soit supérieur au combat que Saturn s'apprête à livrer à Michel dans le Paradis terrestre, ni à la déroute des légions foudroyées par Emmanuel."

Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, chap. 10, p.260.

Enlarging upon the final sublime characteristic

"il n'est rien de plus sublime dans Homère, que le combat d'Emmanuel contre les mauvais anges dans Milton, quand, les précipitant au fond de l'abîme, le Fils de l'homme retient à moitié sa foudre, de peur de les anéantir."

Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, chap. 4, p.248.

From these examples Chateaubriand concludes that the Christian "merveilleux" is not so far below the pagan "merveilleux" as has been generally supposed.

"supposons que le chantre d'Eden fût né en France sous le siècle de Louis XIV, et qu'à la grandeur naturelle de son génie il eût joint le goût de Racine et de Boileau, nous demandons quel fut devenu alors le Paradis perdu, et si le merveilleux de ce poème n'eût pas égalé celui de l'Illiade et de l'Odyssée?" Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, chap.16, p.275.

Pursuing this method of opposing the ancients to Milton, Chateaubriand considers "Eve et Adam, par l'aveugle d'Albion, ..un assez beau pendant à Ulysse et Pénélope, par l'aveugle de Smyrne. (Génie, 2^e part., l.2, p.176).

In the actual comparison it is found that "la simplicité d'Homère est plus ingénue, celle de Milton plus magnifique." (Génie, ^{2^e part. l. 2.} chap. 3, p.180). Once again Milton is compared to the ancients and found superior when after the fall, Adam, in despair, wishes to die, he entertains some doubt as to the future. Of his expression of these doubts, Chateaubriand says:

"La philosophie ne peut demander un genre de beautés plus élevées et plus graves. Non seulement les poètes antiques n'ont jamais fondé un désespoir sur de pareilles bases, mais les moralistes eux-mêmes n'ont rien d'aussi grand."

Génie, 2^e part., l. I, chap.3, p.161.

The final comparison of the penitent prayers of Adam and Eve to the prières boiteuses of the Iliad, I shall quote in full in order to show how beautifully Chateaubriand's criticism is expressed.

"On admire les Prières boiteuses de l'Illiade. Cependant Milton lutte ici sans trop de désavantage contre cette fameuse allégorie; ces premiers soupirs d'un coeur contrit, qui trouvent la route que tous les soupirs du monde doivent bientôt suivre; ces humbles vœux qui viennent se mêler à l'encens qui fume devant le Saint des saints; ces larmes pénitentes qui réjouissent les esprits célestes, ces larmes qui sont offertes à l'Eternel par le Rédempteur du genre humain, ces larmes qui touchent Dieu lui-même (tant a de puissance la première prière de l'homme repentant et malheureux!), toutes ces beautés réunies ont en soi quelque chose de si moral, de si solennel, de si attendrissant, qu'elles ne sont peut-être point effacées par les Prières du chantre d'Ilion."

Génie, 2^e part., l. I, chap. 3.

He seems in this passage to have caught the spirit of Milton and added to it his own personal touch, which makes it surpass Milton. He portrays better than Milton the warmth and vividness of emotion.

After the manner of the ancients is the beginning of the "Hail, wedded love," (E.L.A. p.455, Paradise Lost IV). "Ce magnifique épithalame (commence), sans préparation et par un mouvement inspiré." (Génie, 2^e part., l. 2, chap. 3, p.179.) Voltaire's criticism of this passage:

"Comme il n'y a pas d'exemple d'un pareil amour, il n'y en a point d'une pareille poésie".
Génie, 2^e part., l. 2, chap. 3, p.180.

is quoted here by Chateaubriand. Another magnificent portion of Paradise Lost is the apostrophe to the Sun. It is:

"Une des conceptions les plus sublimes et les plus pathétiques qui soient jamais sorties du gerveau d'un poète."
Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, chap. 3, p.258.

In this hymn, there is not only "grandeur du sujet", "beauté de la poésie" and "élévation naturelle des personnages", but a profound knowledge and understanding of the emotions. When these beauties are combined in a single passage as they are here, "il ne faut rien demander de plus au génie".

Satan's apostrophe to Sun:

"Lorsque, avec la grandeur du sujet, la beauté de la poésie, l'élévation naturelle des personnages, on montre une connaissance aussi profonde des passions, il ne faut rien demander de plus au génie."
Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, chap. 9 p.258.

Of the scene between God and Adam and Eve after the fall, Chateaubriand says:

"nous trouvons dans cette scène de la Genèse quelque chose de si extraordinaire et de si grand, qu'elle se dérobe à toutes les explications du critique; l'admiration manque de termes, et l'art rentre dans le néant." Génie, 2^e part., l. 1, chap.3, p.161.

It is chiefly, then, as a Christian poem and as such opposed to the epics of the ancients that Chateaubriand discusses Paradise Lost in the Génie. Throughout the criticism are scattered passages of the poem, which we shall discuss later under the topic of translation. They are of interest chiefly because they show an earlier stage of the translation of Paradis perdu than that of 1836.

Between the appearance of the Génie and that of the Essai there is little or no criticism of Milton. In Les Martyrs we find that the "dénouement" of the epic is told at the beginning. (Examen p.369). The sublimity of Paradise Lost is again confirmed in these words: "...je dis que le Paradis perdu est aussi une oeuvre sublime." (Mart. Examen,

p.367). In this same supplement to ^{Les} Martyrs is found mention of Addison's criticism of Milton which we will consider later. In 1822 while in London Chateaubriand was writing the "Mémoires" of his previous sojourn. At the time of the French revolution he says of the English people's knowledge of their own literature: "Toutefois de grandes figures demeuraient. On retrouvait partout Milton et Shakespeare." (M.d'O-T., II, p.189.).

In the Essai, Chateaubriand deals with Milton at greater length, in more detail, including other phases of his work, though the greater part still centers about Paradise Lost. He gives an account of Milton's life, believing him to be a man of the 19th century in his political ideas. (E.L.A. p.168). For instance, Milton believes firmly in the liberty of the press (Ibid). "L'aveugle d'Albion," moreover,

"se plaint aussi d'être venu dans de mauvais jours, un siècle trop tard. Il craint que... cold climate or years damp my intended - wing deprest." E.L.A. p.161.

"Ainsi, toutes les questions générales et particulières, agitées aujour d'hui chez les peuples du continent et dans le parlement d'Angleterre, avaient été traitées et résolues par Milton, dans le sens où notre siècle les résout. Il a créé jusqu'à la langue constitutionnelle moderne: les mots de fonctionnaires, de décrets, de motions, etc, sont de lui." E.L.A. p.189.

In this passage in his eagerness to praise Milton^{c.}, has spoken too quickly about two words created by Milton. Examples in the New English Dictionary of motion and decree, date back to 1374 and 1325 respectively. For the word functionary the same authority gives no earlier example of use than in Burke in 1791.

We mistrust Chateaubriand's statements about Milton, the publicist, since he finds no publicist in England at that time except Milton who can approach Siéyès, Mirabeau and Constant. (p.155) Siéyès is as a matter of fact a decidedly mediocre writer. Chateaubriand names Milton's chief political works and gives a brief criticism of the style of each, adding sometimes a quotation. The Defensio pro populo Anglicano gave Milton most fame in his life-time (p.174). In December 1814 (Cf Mélanges politiques p.61), he says: "le style latin est serré, énergique;" and continues: "souvent à la vigueur de l'expression on reconnaît l'auteur du Paradis perdu. Les plaisanteries ne sont pas toujours de bon goût...." The Iconoclast written "avec méthode et clarté" stands out among the other political writings since the author is less dominated by his imagination in it (E.L.A.p.171). The Areopagitica, of which an incomplete translation is inserted, is Milton's best work

in English prose. (E.L.A. p.167). Eloquence is the characteristic of the Seconde défense.

"N'est-ce pas là ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui la propagande révolutionnaire éloquemment annoncée?" E.L.A. p.178.

A part of the Traité sur le divorce too is included in the Essai. Here the "esprit large" of this "ardent champion du divorce" "était contraire à l'esprit anglais qui se renferme dans les cercles de la société pratique." (E.L.A. p.166). Milton, the aristocratic republican, (p.222), appears everywhere in Paradise Lost. The two chambers of his own government appear in his work, in Satan's council (p.223). Satan and his angels could be Presbyterians who refused to submit to the saints of whom Cromwell is the head (p.224). In his 'Dépêches' to Mazarin and Louis XIV, Milton is a great historian (p.185). Still another criticism of Milton as an historian is to be found in a comment on the style of his History of England. This is "mêle, simple, entremêlé de réflexions presque toujours relatives au temps où l'historien écrivait." (E.L.A. p.193). The story of Lear, which is found in this History and which is translated into French in the Essai, is charming. In this, Milton made his style old to make it in keeping with the chronicles from which he borrows. (p.195). In this episode "Milton s'est plu à lutter avec Shakespeare comme Jacob avec l'Ange,"

^{ELA}
(p.195). In this episode "Milton", he concludes, "aurait pu écrire l'histoire comme Tite-Live et Thucydide". (p.180). "Moscovie", the last prose work, discussed is an amusing summary of Milton's travels (p.193).

Chateaubriand gives little attention to the poetical works of Milton in addition to Paradise Lost. The Hymn on the Nativity, a translation of which appears, is "admirable de rythme et d'un effet inattendu". (p.157).

, "How soon hath time, the subtle thief of youth,
Stol'n on his wing my three and twentieth year!
My hasting days fly on with full career,
But my late spring no bud or blossom shew'th."

These four lines of one of Milton's youthful "rêveries de nuit dans la forme des stances de Pétrarque" are quoted (p.158) and translated. Il Penseroso and L'Allegro are two noble efforts of the imagination, according to Chateaubriand (p.159). Several of the images occurring in these two poems have been borrowed from the Anatomy of Melancholy by Burton (1624). (p.160). Milton writes Latin verse as well as prose, a fact which the charming eclogue to Manso, marquis of Villa proves. (p.161). Paradise Regained is considered "une oeuvre de lassitude, quoique calme et belle". (p.202). Samson Agonistes, in which Milton figures as Samson, "respire la force et la simplicité antiques".

At this point in the Essai, Chateaubriand turns to a discussion of Paradise Lost. "Milton n'avait aucunes données, pour trouver le motif de la révolte de Satan; il a fallu qu'il tirât tout de son génie." (E.L.A. pp. 209-10). In wishing to praise his favorite poet lavishly Chateaubriand goes a little too far. Thompson in his Essays on Milton (p.135) says the ultimate source of the combat is Hesiod's description, in the Theogony, of Zeus's battle with the Titans. Rev. 12:7-9 and II Peter II:4 may also have contributed something to this idea. Though Addison, whom Chateaubriand follows elsewhere, commends Milton's invention, he does not do so in this connection.

Discussing the characters of the poem, Chateaubriand includes here the Son of God whom he did not mention in the earlier criticism. This character is "Une oeuvre dont on n'a pas assez remarqué la perfection". (E.L.A. p.217). Among the angels there is a great variety of characters. "La peinture que le poète en [de Raphaël de Michel et d' Uriel]^{fait} est pleine de pudeur et de grâce." (E.L.A. p. 219). "Le poète connaît familièrement tous ces anges, et vous fait vivre avec

eux" (Ibid., p.220). These supernatural beings Milton has endowed with infinite beauty. "Milton les a vêtus et représentés d'après les tableaux de ces grands Maîtres (Michel-Ange et Raphaël); il les a transportés de la toile dans sa poésie, en leur donnant, avec le secours de la lyre, la parole que le pinceau avait laissée muette sur leurs lèvres". (Ibid., p.220). To the remarkable portrait of Satan discussed in the Génie, Chateaubriand here adds another beauty. "Quand Satan lui-même se transforme en Esprit de lumière, le poète répand sur lui toutes les harmonies de son art." (E.L.A. p.220). The general statement that he is "une incomparable création" is also made in the Essai. There follows a quotation from Louis Racine in which the four great monologues of Satan are enumerated. Of Death and Sin, Satan's offspring, "il a fait deux êtres réels et formidables", (E.L.A. p.221) "...tel est le feu du poète". Eve, the final character here criticized, recalls the women of Shakespeare in that, "elle a quelque chose d'extrêmement jeune, une naïveté qui touche à l'enfance". (E.L.A. p.215).

Practically all of the remaining criticism of Paradise Lost concerns the style, vocabulary and language

of the poem and of Milton's works in general, which Chateaubriand seems to have cared little about in the Génie. "Milton offre des obscurités grammaticales sans nombre; il traite sa langue en tyran, viole et méprise les règles". (E.L.A., Avertissement p.5). This is the grievance of the man who has spent more than thirty years in preparing a translation of Paradis perdu. "L'invocation du Paradis perdu présente toutes ces difficultés réunies: l'inversion suspensive qui jette à la césure du septième vers le 'Sing, Heavenly Muse', est admirable". (Ibid). This invocation is prolonged by interminable sentences which demand effort on the part of the reader and which are "antipathiques à l'esprit français". Some of this complication is due to the fact that the poem was completed during the blindness of the author. (Remarques. E.L.A. p.334). "Or il ya des négligences, des répétitions de mots, des cacophonies qu' on n'aperçoit, et pour ainsi dire, qu'on n'entend qu'avec l'œil, en parcourant les épreuves." (Remarques. E.L.A. p.334). "Dans les sujets ^{riants} et gracieux", however, "Milton est moins difficile à entendre, et sa langue se rapproche davantage de la nôtre." Since he is not always logical, he is truly difficult to read (Ibid. p.338).

These are the difficulties which confront the translator.

One of the beauties of the poem lies in the masterly art, with which the author makes known what has preceded the opening of the poem. (E.L.A., p.210). Again, it is Eve's regret at having to leave the flowers of paradise, which she has named, that charms Chateaubriand. This is only "une de ces beautés dont les ouvrages de Milton fourmillent." (Ibid. p.210). The story of the giants, a part of Michael's vision, is marvelously told (Ibid. p.211). In Book XII "ce n'est plus une vision, c'est un récit.", in which we find beauties of all kinds. (Ibid. p.211). In the last two books of Paradise Lost "du plus grand des poètes qu'il était, l'auteur devient le plus grand historien, sans cesser d'être poète." (Ibid p.210).

In spite of all these beauties there are some defects, of which Chateaubriand says "je ne suis plus blessé des choses qui me choquaient autrefois," (Ibid. p.207). Now "l'artillerie dans le ciel" seems to the critic to rise from "une idée fort naturelle: Milton fait inventer par Satan ce qu'il trouve de pis pour les hommes." (Ibid. p.207). The jesting of the demons is simply an imitation of the jesting of the heroes of Homer's Iliad which

Chateaubriand likes to see "apparaître au travers du Paradis perdu" (E.L.A., p.207). The final defect - that of the demons changed into serpents, who hiss at their ruler - is a caprice, "d'ailleurs étonnamment bien exprimé d'une imagination surabondante" (p.207). Chateaubriand calls our attention to two instances of bad taste which he can not excuse, i.e., "Ce dîner (de fruits) qui ne refroidit pas" and Adam's referring to Eve as "une côte tortueuse qu'il avait de trop". The last "injure est placée dans un morceau dramatique d'une beauté achevée". (Ibid p.208). There are in Paradise Lost "beautés, défauts, négligences et lassitudes", of which one is aware in reading the poem. (Avertissement p.5).

Two general statements about his style are made. "L'éloquence forme une des qualités essentielles du talent de l'auteur." (Ibid, p.223). His style is figurative as well eloquent. "Jamais style ne fut plus figuré que celui de Milton". (E.L.A. p.337 Remarques). More specifically Book IV of Paradise Lost contains "vers délicieux" (p.215). In Book X, "la beauté de la poésie égale la beauté du sentiment" (p.219). Of this same book Chateaubriand says "l'expression manque pour louer

des choses si divines" (^{E.L.A.}p.218). Book XI is so well done that "Dante aurait invité Milton, comme un frère, à entrer avec lui dans le groupe des grands poètes." (p.211). There are three descriptions which Chateaubriand considers especially beautiful, which I shall consider later. Of his descriptions in general, Chateaubriand says they contain "quelque chose de doux, de velouté, de vaporeux, d'idéal, comme des souvenirs. les soleils couchants ont un caractère de mélancolie qu'on ne retrouve nulle part." Milton is "aussi grand écrivain en prose qu'en vers" (p.168). He concludes his article on Milton with these words: "On sent en effet dans ce poème à travers la passion des légères années, la maturité de l'âge et la gravité du malheur; ce qui donne au Paradis perdu un charme extraordinaire de vieillesse et de jeunesse, d'inquiétude et de paix, de tristesse et de joie, de raison et d'amour". By far the greater part of the criticism of Milton in the Essai deals with the externals of Paradise Lost, such as the grammar, language, expression, verse. This matter is emphasized here, though it scarcely appeared in the Génie; because thirty years of work on the translation of Paradise Lost would naturally make the author better able to form some judgments of these beauties and defects.

Since translation was the end of this long period of study as a matter of course these externals would largely occupy the author's attention.

It is curious to note that Chateaubriand inserts in his criticisms various quotations from English critics, among them, Hume, Johnson, and Dryden. According to Telleen, "Johnson, dont la Vie de Milton fut traduite en 1805 par Boulard et qui supplanta Addison comme critique de Milton, est plus souvent cité que celui-ci." As far as I remember Addison is not once mentioned by name in either the Génie or the Essai in connection with Milton. In Les Martyrs, however, in the Examen Chateaubriand says:

"Pope a représenté les poèmes d'Homère sous l'image d'un grand jardin, et Addison se sert de la même comparaison pour le Paradis perdu."
Mart. Examen p.300.

and again:

"Addison et Louis Racine ont fort bien démontré, au sujet du Paradis perdu, que c'est l'action et non pas le héros qui fait l'épopée." Mart. Examen p.385.

There is still further and more convincing evidence both in the Génie and the Essai that Chateaubriand knew Addison's Remarques which preceded a prose translation of Paradis perdu¹ made in 1767. So, in the Génie, Chateaubriand says:

¹

Le Paradis perdu de Milton, poème héroïque, traduit de l'anglais avec les Remarques de M. Addison, La Haye, les Frères Van-Duren, 1767.

"on y (dans le Paradis perdu) trouve des beautés supérieures qui tiennent essentiellement à notre religion."

Génie, 2^e part., l. I, chap. 3, p.157.

which may be compared to Addison's earlier statement:

"je crois qu'il y a dans chaque partie du Paradis perdu une magnificence infinie, et un sublime qu'on n'aurait jamais pu trouver dans aucun système païen."

Paradis perdu, Remarques de M. Addison, p.15.

Again, in speaking of the subject of Paradise Lost, Chateaubriand says that the subject of Vergil is undoubtedly great -

"mais que dire du sujet d'un poëme qui peint une catastrophe dont nous sommes nous-mêmes les victimes, qui ne nous montre pas le fondateur de telle ou telle société, mais le père du genre humain?" Génie, 2^e part., l. I, chap.3, p.158.

Practically the same comparison had been made by Addison:

"Le sujet de Milton est encore plus grand que les deux premiers (Illiade et Enéide); il ne décide pas de la destinée d'un petit nombre de personnes, ou de quelques nations seulement, mais du sort de tout le genre humain....."

Paradis perdu - Remarques de M. Addison, p.15.

In the criticism of the handling of the fall, too, there is some slight resemblance in the two.

"Milton, avec le même esprit (qu'a monté Virgile) représente toute la nature troublée au moment où Eve mange du fruit défendu." Remarques de M. Addison, p.76.

"Un esprit ordinaire n'aurait pas manqué de renverser le monde au moment où Eve porte à sa bouche le fruit fatal; Milton s'est contenté de faire pousser un soupir à la terre qui vient d'enfanter la mort: on est beaucoup plus surpris, parceque cela est beaucoup moins surprenant."

Génie, 2^e part. 1. I, chap.3, p.160.

"Milton a surtout le mérite de l'expression. On connaît les ténèbres visibles, le silence ravi Ces hardiesses. "

Génie, 2^e part., 1. I, chap.3, p.162.

These particular expressions are to be found in a discussion of the fitness of imaginary persons in epics in Addison's Remarques. It will be noticed that there, too, hardis is applied to these expressions:

"Telles sont encore ces expressions, où décrivant le chant du Rossignol, il ajoute: 'le silence était charmé'.... ainsi je conclus que ces personnages imaginaires ne devaient point être admis pour principaux acteurs. Ils sont trop hardis...."

Remarques de M. Addison, p.82.

Of "Vénus dans le bois de Carthage", Chateaubriand says:

"Cette poésie, est délicieuse; mais le chantre d'Eden en a beaucoup approché lorsqu'il a peint l'arrivée de l'ange Raphaël au bocage de nos premiers pères."

Génie, 2^e part., 1. 4, chap.10, p.259.

"Ici, Milton - presque aussi gracieux que Virgile, l'emporte sur lui par la sainteté et la grandeur. Raphaël est plus beau que Vénus, Eden plus enchanté que les bois de Carthage, et (Ève est un froid et triste personnage auprès du majestueux Adam)."

Génie, 2^e part., 1. 4, chap. 10, p.259.

This may have been suggested by one of the Remarques d'Addison,

"La réception que les Anges du paradis terrestre font à Raphaël, sa marche au travers d'une forêt de parfums, et son apparition à Adam qui le reconnaît de loin, contiennent, toutes les grâces dont la Poésie est susceptible",
 (Remarques d'Addison, p.58.)

tho in Addison the comparison to Vergil is not made.

In the later Essai he borrowed again from Addison **but** not the same criticisms. First of all the character of the **F**ather is found by both Addison and Chateaubriand to be depicted with fear.

"obscurément tracé.... Il faut admirer la retenue de l'auteur; il a craint de prêter une parole mortelle à l'Etre impérissable" E.L.A. p.217.

"On peut, à ce que je crois, observer que l'auteur procède avec une espèce de crainte et de tremblement,¹ lorsqu' il fait parler le Tout-Puissant; il n'ose alors donner un plein essor à son imagination, mais il prend le parti de se restreindre aux idées tirées des livres des Théologiens les plus orthodoxes, et aux expressions de l'Ecriture-Sainte." Remarques de M. Addison, p.46.

One of the descriptions previously mentioned, that of morning, produces the effect that "on croit lire un verset des psaumes" (p. 208, E.L.A.). Addison has expressed the same sentiment in these words: (Remarques , p.75)

"La description du matin convient parfaitement à un poème divin "

¹

A Biblical expression. Cf. Eph. 6:5, Phil. 2:12.

Of Adam's description of his first meeting with Eve, Chateaubriand's "Qui a jamais dit ces choses-là? quel poète a jamais parlé ce langage?" (E.L.A., p.214). is equivalent to Addison's (Remarques, p.70.).

"Ces incidents merveilleux et plusieurs autres semblables ... plairont par la nouveauté et par le naturel..."

Both Addison (Remarques, p. 80) and Chateaubriand (E.L.A. p.211) admire the hospital "et les différentes espèces de morts" shown by Gabriel to Adam in the final scene of Paradise Lost. Milton's abuse of his learning is also noted by both critics: Chateaubriand:

"Le poète abuse un peu de son érudition, mais après tout, mieux vaut être trop instruit que de ne l'être pas assez" as was Shakespeare. (E.L.A. p. 208.)

Addison's

"Il pêche encore assez souvent par une ostentation inutile de science...."
(Remarques, p.36)

is not so partial a criticism. Concerning the language of Paradise Lost, Chateaubriand says it is full of "hébraïsmes, hellénismes, latinismes" (E.L.A. Avertissement p.6), which agrees with

"Milton conformément à la pratique des anciens Poètes, et aux règles d'Aristote, a mêlé quantité de tours Latins, Grecs, et quelquefois Hébraïques dans son Poème." Addison Remarques, p.27.

The use of "Cathartics"
(ag. & ph.) through the
evening 8th be reconsidered
J.H.D.

The art of the poet, too, has a similar criticism in both Chateaubriand and Addison.

"Si l'art du poète se montre quelque part, c'est dans la peinture des amours de nos premiers parents après le péché." E.L.A. p.217

"L'art de Milton n'est nulle part plus marqué que dans la manière dont il conduit le caractère de nos premiers Pères."

Remarques de M. Addison, p.79.

Chateaubriand has not borrowed a whole mass of criticisms from Addison. He has rather chosen one statement about Paradise Lost as a Christian poem, another about the portrayal of a character and so on, enlarged upon them or included them in a group of his own criticisms. *Howe*

In 1839, when Chateaubriand is still occasionally considering Milton in his Mémoires, he says of Milton in his discours on being elected member of the Academy

"Lorsque Milton publia le Paradis perdu, aucune voix ne s'éleva dans les trois royaumes de la Grande Bretagne pour louer un ouvrage qui, malgré ses nombreux défauts, n'en est pas moins un des plus beaux monuments de l'esprit humain. L'Homère anglais mourut oublié." M.d'O.-T., III, p.34 ff.

Here he may be recalling Addison's:

"Le Paradis perdu est regardé par les meilleurs juges comme la plus grande production de l'esprit humain." Remarques, p.51.

In this same speech, Chateaubriand mentions "les beautés incorrectes" of Milton. (M.d'O.-T., III, p.39.) That same

year Chateaubriand wrote (M.d'O.-T., IV, p.279) "Que sont devenus ces jours éclatants et tumultueux où vécurent Shakespear, Milton, Henri VIII et Elisabeth, Cromwell et Guillaume, Pitt et Burke?" Discussing his own career in Germany, Chateaubriand is led to say: "Dante, Aristo et Milton n'ont-ils pas aussi bien réussi en politique qu' en poésie?" (M.d'O.-T., IV, p.198). In spite of his political "égarements" Milton left notable works because he withdrew from the world to seek in religion comfort and a source of glory. (M.d'O.-T., III, p.35-6). A little before this (M.d'O.-T., III, p.32), Chateaubriand quotes a part of the second Défense of the English nation. Finally, too, he quotes in French a sentence from "Moscovie" (M.d'O.-T., III, p.309). In these, the final criticisms, as well as in the earliest, Chateaubriand is more interested in the man of politics than in the poet. This may, however, be due to the fact that, during a part of the Revolution at least and undoubtedly after 1836, Chateaubriand's own activity is political rather than literary.

The Essai sur la littérature anglaise, of which the section dealing with Milton forms a very large part, was written as a kind of introductory study to the

translation of Paradise Lost. M. Boillot, "Chateaubriand théoricien de la traduction", R.H.L. 1912 and M. Dick:

"La Traduction du Paradis perdu de Chateaubriand,"

, R.H.L., 1910, have studied Chateaubriand as a translator of Milton; but each one has considered only the final product, the whole Paradis perdu which appeared in 1836.

M. Boillot, moreover, implies in his article that M. Dick has followed an unjust method in comparing Chateaubriand to his successors in this field of endeavor. He, himself, however does not take the opposite course. M. Baldensperger alone of the three has taken into consideration a translation preceding that of Paradis perdu of 1836; but he has restricted himself to Chateaubriand alone. M. Baldensperger ("A propos de Chateaubriand traducteur", R.H.L., 1913) has called our attention to the fact that

7, Chateaubriand's translations must vary from time to time in the thirty or more years during which he worked at this undertaking. In the Essai, (p.326) Chateaubriand says: "Lorsque, au commencement de ma vie, l'Angleterre m'offrit un refuge, je traduisis quelques vers de Milton pour subvenir aux besoins de l'exil." M. Baldensperger has printed in parallel columns a short passage, "le coucher du soleil", of the Paradis perdu "inséré en 1803 dans la Bibliothèque portative des écrivains français de Moysant et Levizac

(t.II,p.199), qui diffère assez peu du morceau plus étendu inséré dans le Génie"(2^e part., l. 2, chap.III.")

M.Baldensperger does not mention the edition of the Génie which he has used; but we would judge that it was later than 1803.

There is still an older form of this same translation in the 1802 or first edition of the Génie. In one sentence there is a decided difference between the 1802 edition and M.Baldensperger's fragment of 1803, which is, practically speaking, the same as in the 1828 edition.

1802: "Le crépuscule grisâtre avait enveloppé les objets des ombres égales". (Tome II, p.65)

1803 fragment: "et par degrés un doux crépuscule enveloppait les objets de son ombre uniforme". (M.Baldensperger, R.H.L. 1913. p.428)

Differences have therefore been found between the 1802 and 1828 editions of the Génie. In the Essai sur la littérature anglaise we find fragments of Paradis perdu. One of these: "Dans leurs regards divers" occurs in the 1802 and 1828 Génies as well as in the complete Paradis perdu. The Essai translation does not always correspond exactly to any one of the other three. For example, notice the various translations of Paradise Lost:

Paradise Lost: "His fair, large front and eye sublime
 declar'd
Absolute rule;"

Génie: "Le front ouvert, l'oeil sublime du premier,
annonce (1828: annoncent) la puissance absolue"

Paradis perdu: "Le beau et large front de l'homme et son oeil sublime annoncent la (E.L.A.: déclaraient sa) suprême puissance;"

Another example follows:

Paradise Lost: "Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure;"

Génie: "vérité, sagesse, sainteté rigide et pure
1828: la vérité, la sagesse, la sainteté rigide
et pure"

Paradis perdu: "avec la raison (E.L.A.: la vérité), la sagesse, la sainteté sévère et pure."

There are two instances in which the E.L.A. version is nearer Milton than anyone of the others.

Paradise Lost: "So hand in hand they passed"

Génie: "Ainsi passe, en se tenant par la main,"

Paradis perdu: "Ainsi passait."

E.L.A. "ainsi en se tenant par la main passait."

Paradise Lost: "which implied
Subjection. "

Génie: "symbole de la sujétion"

Paradis perdu: "Symbole de la dépendance"

E.L.A.: "ce qui implique la dépendance"

After a comparison of several passages from the Génie of the first edition with parallel passages from the

Oeuvres complètes (1867) edition of the Génie and with the completed Paradis perdu, which appeared in 1836, I have come to these conclusions. My conclusions concern chiefly the first and last of these translations except occasionally when there is a more decided difference between the 1802 and the later Génie. (N.B. Chateaubriand used the Glasgow edition of 1776 of Paradise Lost for his translation (Cf. Génie, 2^e part., 1. 2, chap. 3, p. 177, Note 1) and I have used this same edition which appears with the final translation in the E.L.A.). There are comparatively few cases of exact likeness and these usually occur where there is no other possible translation, or occasionally where in each instance, in spite of the intervening years, the poet has made the same mistake. An example of the first is found in the translation of "erect and tall" as "d'une stature droite et élevée" or of "that to me seemed another sky" as "qui me semblait un autre firmament". From the point of view of exactness both the Génie and the Essai have fallen short in rendering "eldest of things" as applied to Night by "fille aînée des êtres".

The differences in the word order, in tenses

and in subjects, from plural to singular or vice versa, are due in large measure to the translator's determination definitely expressed in the preface to the Paradis perdu (p.329, E.L.A.) ("c'est une traduction littérale dans toute la force du terme que j'ai entreprise une traduction qu'un enfant et un poète pourront suivre sur le texte, ligne à ligne, mot à mot....") to render a faithful "mot à mot" translation.

Paradise Lost: "And with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs;"

Génie: "et tourmente les rois par la frayeur des révolutions"

Paradis perdu: "et par la frayeur des révolutions tourmente
les rois."

The later translation renders exactly Milton's word

order. The Génie translates "yet|shone" by "mais encore brillant", whereas the Paradis perdu says exactly

"brillait encore". Again:

Paradise Lost: "Now glow'd the firmament
With living sapphires: "

Génie: 1802.. "étincelle des vivans saphirs"
1828 "étincela de vivants"

Paradis perdu: "étincela de vivants saphirs."

The translator corrected his earlier carelessness in 1828. The historic present which he uses consistently in the earlier translation is changed to the imperfect tense. As for change of number of subject and verb,

Chateaubriand seems to suffer from the same malady
of which he accuses other translators:

"Toutefois les traducteurs ont une singulière monomanie: ils changent les pluriels en singuliers, les singuliers en pluriels, les adjectifs en substantifs, les articles en pronoms, les pronoms en articles." E.L.A. Remarques, p.335.

Paradise Lost: "and care
Sat on his faded cheek;"

Génie: "et les chagrins se montraient sur ses
joues décolorées"

Paradis perdu: "et l'inquiétude est assise sur sa
joue fanée"

Paradise Lost: "for softness she and sweet attractive
grace"

Génie: "Elle, formée pour la mollesse et les grâces"
1828: "Elle est formée"

Paradis perdu: "Elle, pour la mollesse et la grâce
séduisante."

Paradise Lost: "nor shunn'd the sight
Of God or angel;"

Génie: "Ils n'évitent ni l'oeil de Dieu, ni les regards
des Anges."

Paradis perdu: "il n'évitait ni la vue de Dieu, ni
celle des anges."

There is, moreover, still another kind of change of subject:

Paradise Lost: "I seek thee, and thee claim,
My other half;"

Génie: "Ton autre moitié te reclame"

Paradis perdu: "je réclame mon autre moitié"

The first edition often shows slightly inexact translations such as these:

Paradise Lost: "Farewell, happy fields
Where joy forever dwells!"

Génie: "Adieu, champs fortunés, qu'habitent les
joies éternelles."

Paradis perdu: "Adieu, champs fortunés, où la joie
habite pour toujours!"

Paradise Lost: "the sun new-risen"

Génie: "le soleil levant"

Paradis perdu: "le soleil nouvellement levé"

Paradise Lost: "Part of my soul"

Génie: O moitié de mon âme"

Paradis perdu: "Partie de mon âme"

Occasionally there is a more serious inexactness. So for instance:

Paradise Lost: "unveiled her peerless light,"

Génie: "répandit sa tendre lumière"

Paradis perdu: "dévoila sa lumière incomparable"

Three different translations of the following clause occur:

Paradise Lost: "and twilight gray
Had in her sober livery all things clad."

Génie: 1802 "Le crépuscule grisâtre avait enveloppé les
objets de ses ombres égales."

1828 "et par degrés un doux crépuscule enveloppait
les objets de son ombre uniforme."

Paradis perdu: "et le crépuscule grisâtre avait
revêtu tous les objets de sa grave
livrée."

"Par degrés" is inserted in 1828; and "sober livery" is translated in a different way, though retaining the same idea expressed in 1802. In another passage the 1802 version translates "left" by "laisa" but adds "à la gauche du monde", which points to a possible blunder on the part of the young translator.

Paradise Lost: "or this less voluble earth,
By shorter flight to th'east, had
left him there."

Génie: "soit que la terre, moins rapide, se
retirant dans l'Orient, par un plus
court chemin, eût laissé l'astre du
jour à la gauche du monde."

Paradis perdu: "soit que la terre moins vite,
par une fuite plus courte vers
l'est, eût laissé la le soleil."

"On nous pardonnera la hardiesse des tours dont nous nous sommes servi, en faveur de la lutte contre le texte. Nous avons fait aussi disparaître quelques traits de mauvais goût, en particulier la comparaison allégorique ~~allégorique~~ du sourire de Jupiter, que nous avons remplacée par son sens propre". (Génie., p.179, 2^e part., l. 2, chap. 3, Note 1.). This particular passage seems to be a difficult one for Chateaubriand, for here again he has three translations for one clause.

Paradise Lost: "..... as Jupiter
On Juno smiles, when he impregns
the clouds
That shed May-flowers,"

Génie: "tel est le sourire que le ciel laisse
au printemps tomber sur les nuées, et
qui imprègne de vie ces nuées remplies
(1828 fait couler la vie dans ces nuées
grosses) de la semence des fleurs."

Paradis perdu: "comme Jupiter sourit à Junon
lorsqu'il féconde les nuages
qui répandent les fleurs de
mai".

According to the standards of "bon goût" of the 18th century, Chateaubriand has also made use of conventional paraphrases such as "la reine des nuits" which he has later cut to "la lune". Similar is the "étoile du soir" in the Génie for the later "Hesperus". Good 18th century parlance favored "les espaces célestes" of the Génie rather than "l'étendue du ciel" of the Paradis perdu and "les esprits immortels" rather than "les dieux".

"Puiser dans le flanc" is a "noble" expression compared to the later "prêter du côté", which is awkward French but a faithful rendering of the English.

Paradise Lost: "(to give thee being) I lent
Out of my side to thee, nearest my heart,
Substantial life;"

Génie: "j'ai puisé dans mon flanc la vie plus près
de mon coeur,"

Paradis perdu: "je t'ai prêté de mon propre côté, du
plus près de mon coeur, la substance
et la vie,"

The earlier translation is decidedly the more conventional of the two in this passage:

Paradise Lost: "She all night long her amorous
descant sung:"

Génie: "il remplissait la nuit de ses plaintes
amoureuses"

Paradis perdu: "toute la nuit il chanta sa
complainte amoureuse"

As in the translations of Smith, omissions are made in the Génie - for clearness and to avoid repetition .

Paradise Lost: "and, with eyes
Of conjugal attraction unprov'd"

Génie: "Avec des regards pleins d'amour,"

Paradis perdu: "et avec des regards pleins d'un
charme conjugal non repoussé"

Paradise Lost: "what thou seest,
What there thou seest, fair creature,
is thyself."

Génie: "L'objet que tu vois, belle créature, est
toi-même."

Paradis perdu: "Ce que tu vois, belle créature, ce
que tu vois là, est toi-même".

In like manner additions are made by way of explanation or completion of the thought, or to round out the period.

Paradise Lost: "yet shone
Above them all the archangel:"

Génie: "au-dessus de tous les (1828:des) compagnons
de sa chute,"

Paradis perdu: "au-dessus de tous ses compagnons"

Paradise Lost: "what could I do?"

Génie: "Que pouvais-je faire après ces paroles?"

Paradis perdu: "Que pouvais-je faire?"

Paradise Lost: "So pass'd they naked on,"

Génie: "Ainsi marchent nus ces deux grands époux
dans Eden solitaire."

Paradis perdu: "Ainsi passait le couple nu,"

In an almost negligible number of examples the Génie translation has a certain Romantic touch. This might account for the fantôme of the following passage

Paradise Lost: "Than that smooth watery image."

Génie: "que le gracieux fantôme enchaîné, dans
les replis (1828:le repli) de l'onde."

Paradis perdu: "que cette molle image des eaux"

as well as for the solitudes which are lacking in Milton and omitted in the 1828 and 1836 translations.

Paradise Lost: "cry'dst aloud"

Génie: "et élevant la voix, tu t'écrias parmi
toutes les solitudes:"(last phrase omitted in 1828)

Paradis perdu: "et tu t'écries:"

A subjective element, which is not present in Milton or in the later translations, enters the Génie.

Paradise Lost: "Hail, horrors; hail,
Infernal world!"

Génie: "Horreurs! je vous salue! je vous salue, monde
infernale!"

Paradis perdu: "salut, horreurs! salut, "

Paradise Lost: "And banish'd from man's life
his happiest life,
Simplicity and spotless innocence!"

Génie: "Ah! vous avez banni de notre vie ce qui
seul est la véritable vie, la simplicité
et l'innocence."

Paradis perdu: "Vous avez banni de la vie de
l'homme sa plus heureuse vie, la
simplicité et l'innocence sans
tache!"

The Génie translation is on the whole under the influence of the 18th century conventions in its omissions, additions, paraphrases and general use of "mots nobles". Occasionally it has hit upon a better meaning than the later translation. More often it has failed to interpret the English correctly.

The three-fold influence of Milton shows that Chateaubriand was interested in this ~~English~~ ^{French} writer from the time of his exile in London to 1839 - for a period of almost fifty years. During his exile Chateaubriand learned to know this great English poet as a man interested in politics, as a "publiciste". He did, however, know something of Milton's literary works, as he has said that he translated some parts of Paradise Lost at this time. Another reason for our believing that Chateaubriand knew Paradise Lost at the time of his sojourn in England is that Les Natchez show some borrowings of ^a superficial nature from this epic. In the Génie du Christianisme, also begun in

England and published in 1802, there appear translations of portions of Paradise Lost as well as criticisms of the author. The latter concern those parts of Paradise Lost which reveal the beauties of the Christian religion. The translations of the Génie are decidedly conventional in vocabulary and for that reason fail often to express Milton's thoughts. Chateaubriand's attention seems to be fixed upon the French of his translation rather than on expressing the thought of the English, though he does usually convey this in a general way. This early translation also shows an inexact knowledge of English, which is largely remedied in the final Paradis perdu of 1836. There, too, the author has submerged himself completely and has reproduced, on the whole quite faithfully, the work of his much admired poet. To go back to his borrowings from Milton, these occur far more frequently in Les Martyrs than in Les Natchez, though they remain of a superficial nature, - consisting only of technical, stylistic devices together with certain picturesque details, and of a background of the Christian "merveilleux". The final lengthy criticism of Milton appears in the Essai sur la Littérature Anglaise which emphasizes Milton's general style and that of the Paradise Lost and the beauties of the versification, subject, and art of the poem.

CHAPTER III.

"Ossian n'est pas seulement à cette époque le poète favori du maître, le chantre officiel de ses louanges, celui qui prête sa voix à l'enthousiasme et à l'adulation, il ne se borne pas à inspirer les faiseurs d'odes, de poèmes et de romances à donner le ton aux musiciens, à paraître sur la scène et à figurer dans la peinture. Le Barde a des beautés moins pompeuses et des charmes plus secrets. Il sait aussi parler à voix basse, et ses chants ont une vertu discrète qui leur ouvre les âmes; surtout les âmes timides, fières ou déçues de ceux qui redoutent et fuient le monde, et que le fracas de l'apothéose impériale laisse indifférents ou dédaigneux. Rêveurs, solitaires, voyageurs, ils vivent en dehors du grand courant de vogue et de popularité qui à cette heure même porte Ossian aux suprêmes honneurs; ils le lisent à l'écart et dans le recueillement; ils l'aiment, non parce qu'il est à la mode, mais parce qu'il a su toucher leurs coeurs." (Van Tieghem, II, p.166). This general statement which^M Van Tieghem applies to general knowledge of Ossian in France before the time of the author whom we are studying can be applied specifically to Chateaubriand. We have already seen ^{how} Chateaubriand₂ eagerly read₃ Ossian and his imitators and translated the best of these before 1800.

Now we shall consider the actual borrowings from Ossian as they appear in Les Natchez, Atala, René and Les Martyrs. The first general class of these consists of elements of landscape. All the outstanding features of Ossianic landscape - sea, rocks, torrents, oak trees, mist - are to be found in these works of Chateaubriand. It is the ruggedness and the wildness of primitive nature and the deserted expanse of land or sea that Chateaubriand has taken from Ossian. In Les Natchez we read of "une brume froide et humide" and again of "une brume jaune et immobile" (VII, p.267). It is of this same country, to which Chactas returns after his exile in France, that we read "Des brouillards couvriraient la terre et la mer". (Les Natchez VIII, p.278). Very effective is the use of mist which is helpful to Céluta's plan of stealing "la gerbe fatale" from the temple of Athaén^rsic. (Les Natchez, p.492). "Quittant l'asile funèbre, elle traverse les campagnes que couvrait un brouillard,...."

The meeting-place of all the Indians, who are called to council with Ondouré, combines several other elements of Ossian's landscape. "Sur la côte septentrionale du lac Supérieur s'élève une roche d'une hauteur prodigieuse; sacine porte une forêt de pins; de cette forêt sort un torrent Le lac s'étend comme une mer sans

bornes:...." (Les Natchez, p.443). In another example from Les Natchez the rocks are moss-covered and over them dash "des torrents".

"Je traversai des vallées de pierres revêtues de mousse, et au fond des-
quelles coulaient des torrents d'eau
demi-glacée." (Les Natchez, VIII, p.271).

It is the solitude of Ossian's poems that has found its way into the following sentence from Les Natchez.

"Déserts et vous, rochers! venez à moi!
prenez-moi dans votre sein, afin que,
nourri loin de la corruption des hommes,
je puisse au sortir de cette misérable
vie, monter au séjour de l'éternelle
science et de la souveraine beauté!"
(Les Natchez, IV, p.214.)

In Atala we find the same "solitude" and a particular "rocher," on which is le père Aubry's abode.

Le père Aubry:
"Il y a bientôt trente ans que j'habite
cette solitude, et il y en aura demain
vingt-deux que j'ai pris possession de
ce rocher." Atala, p.49.

In another part of Atala the rocks are "taillés en forme de fantômes". (p.76). Not only is there connection between the rocks and "fantômes" but also ~~between the rocks,~~ between nature in general and religious observances. So in Atala (p.53.)

"...l'autel se prépare sur un quartier de
roche, l'eau se puise dans le torrent voisin"

The "torrents" of Atala enter a curious passage which is

a word for word translation of a sentence in Fingal.

Chaotas:

"Mon père avait aussi une belle hutte, et ses chevreuils buvaient les eaux de mille torrents;" Atala, p.27-8.

"Comal was a son of Albion; the chief of an hundred hills! His deer drunk of a thousand streams. Ossian II: Fingal, Book II, p.84.

Chateaubriand in Atala calls our attention to the sounds produced by these various elements of the landscape. Once it is the "roucoulements de la colombe de Virginie" and "la chute d'un torrent dans la montagne" which are mingled. (p.70). Again it is the wind which is heard together with the torrents.

"Il me dit le lendemain que c'était assez sa coutume, même pendant l'hiver, aimant à voir les forêts balancer leurs cimes dépouillées, les nuages voler dans les cieux, et à entendre les vents et les torrents gronder dans la solitude." Atala, p.50.

Other examples of Ossianic landscape may be found in "la cataracte de Niagara" (p.75) and "le désert qui déroulait maintenant devant nous ses solitudes démesurées" (p.38). In René, (p.89) Chateaubriand recalls the "rumeurs des flots dans l'Océan."

A new element of the Ossianic landscape, "de grandes bruyères", enters ^{into} René.

"Le jour, je m'égarais sur de grandes bruyères terminées par des forêts." (René, p.94).

Additional passages from René showing elements of Ossianic landscape are these:-

"Qu'il fallait peu de chose a ma rêverie!
.... la mousse qui tremblait au souffle
du nord sur le tronc d'un chêne, une
roche écartée, un étang désert où le jonc
flétri murmurait!" René p.94.

"On montre encore un rocher où il allait
s'asseoir au soleil couchant." René, p.109

The Invocation to the Muse in Book XXIV of Les Martyrs adds another element of this landscape - mountains - to Chateaubriand's work.

"A quel bord n'as-tu pas conduit mes rê-
veries ou mes malheurs? Porté sur ton aile,
j'ai découvert au milieu des nuages les
montagnes désolées de Morven, j'ai pénétré
les forêts d'Erminul..." Les Martyrs, XXIV, p.345

The following passage from Les Martyrs brings with it an additional element,- the bird, or "sea-fowl", as it is called in Ossian.

"Le triste oiseau des écueils, le lumb, fait
entendre sa plainte semblable au cri de
détresse d'un homme qui se noie:" Mart. X, p.151.

The curious word "lumb" which Chateaubriand uses is a 17th century English word (Cf. Murray: N.E.D. under "loom")- "a name given in northern seas to a species of the guillemot and the diver". (The earliest example of the use of this word by the N.E.D. is taken from a 17th century book of travels by Narborough. We know that young Chateaubriand

with his friend M. Malesherbes enjoyed reading accounts of journeys to America. It is quite possible that he read still other tales of travel besides those touching directly on America; and so he may have come across this word.) The cry of another bird, also a sea-bird, charms Eudore the listener. "Ces sons entre-coupés par des silences, par le murmure de la forêt et de la mer, par le cri du courlis et de l'alouette marine, avaient quelque-chose d'enchanté et de sauvage." (Les Martyrs, X, p.146). In this same work the rocks become "pierres druidiques", for which our Breton author may also have drawn on his recollection of the numerous stones of this kind in Brittany.

"A l'extrémité d'une côte dangereuse, sur une grève où croissent à peine quelques herbes dans un sable stérile, s'élève une longue suite de pierres druidiques, semblables à ce tombeau où j'avais jadis rencontré Velléda. Battues des vents, des pluies et des flots, elles sont là solitaires, entre la mer, la terre et le ciel. Leur origine et leur destination sont également inconnues. Monuments de la science des Druides, retracent-elles quelques secrets de l'astronomie, ou quelques mystères de la Divinité? On l'ignore.... Ils disent qu'on y voit des feux errants, et qu'on y entend la voix des fantômes.
Mart. X, p.149.

In the last example the "fantômes" frequent the rocks, whereas in Atala the rocks are only cut in the form of fantômes. "Dolmen" as well as Druids' stones appear in

Les Martyrs, and mark the tomb of some warrior.

(Les Martyrs, IX,p.135)

"A l'extrémité de cette arène s'élevait une de ces roches isolées que les Gaulois appellent Dolmen, et qui marque le tombeau de quelque guerrier." Mart. IX,p.135

A final passage from Les Martyrs includes many of these elements, which I have enumerated.

"L'Armorique ne m'offrit que des bruyères des bois, des vallées étroites et profondes traversées de petites rivières que ne remonte point le navigateur, et qui portent à la mer des eaux inconnues; région solitaire, triste, orageuse, enveloppée de brouillards, retentissante du bruit des vents, et dont les côtes hérissées de rochers sont battues d'un océan sauvage." Mart.,IX,p.133.

Additional examples follow:

Eudore:

"Un soir je rêvais dans ce lieu (ce sanctuaire plein du souvenir de l'antique race des Celtes) L'aiglon mugissait au loin, et arrachait du tronc des arbres des touffes de lierre et de mousse." Mart. X,p.144.

"On entendait le concert lointain des torrents et des sources qui descendent des monts de l'Arcadie." Mart., XII,p.179.

"Vers la seconde veille de la nuit, n'entendant plus que le bruit d'un torrent dans les montagnes,..." Mart., VII,p.103.

Eudore:

"Un mont de qui le sommet est planté de roches aigües, un torrent qui se replie vingt-deux fois sur lui-même, et déchire son lit en s'écoulant, forment de ce côté la barrière de l'Etrurie." Mart., V,p.80.

"des vallons étroits, des monticules tapissés de bruyère..... d'une part, des arbres centenaires, des cascades qui tombent depuis des siècles, des rochers vainqueurs du temps et d'Annibal". Mart., V,p.80.

"Une source d'eau vive, environnée de hauts peupliers, tombait à grands flots d'une roche élevée;" Mart., I,p.8.

"Le château où Eudore commandait était bâti sur un roc, appuyé contre une forêt, et baigné par un lac." Mart. IX,p.133.

On such a wild country, deserted except for the weird birds, but usually on some expanse of water, the heroes of Ossian and the characters of Chateaubriand's works sit and look. This attitude of the "rêveur", or "penseur", is a favorite one in Ossian and Chateaubriand. One popular spot for the "rêveur" in Ossian and Chateaubriand is on a rock opposite a body of water. In Les Natchez, Outougamiz occupies this position in front of a lake just at that point where a torrent empties into it.

"Outougamiz demeura assis sur la pointe du rocher, en face du lac, à l'endroit où le torrent, quittant la terre, s'élançait dans l'abîme.... Les flots du lac poussés par le vent, mordaient leurs rivages... partout des déserts autour de cette mer intérieure, elle-même solitude vaste et profonde; partout l'absence des hommes et la présence de Dieu. Le coude appuyé sur son genou, la tête posée dans sa main, les pieds pendants sur l'abîme..."
Les Natchez, p.455.

In this deserted spot, Outougamiz is lost in thought. The same attitude is that of the old man whom Chaactas finds looking out upon the ocean.

"Un soir j'errais sur les grèves; mes yeux, parcourant l'étendue des flots, tâchaient de découvrir dans le lointain les côtés de ma patrie..... Je découvris à sa lumière un vieillard assis sur un rocher. Les flots calmes expiraient aux pieds de ce vieillard comme aux pieds de leur maître."

Les Natchez, V, p.226.

This also is the position in which we find René.

"Je vole sur le rivage où tout était désert, et où l'on n'entendait que le rugissement des flots. Je m'assieds sur un rocher."

René, p.107.

Utter peace and contentment is the picture we have of Cymodocée and her father who occupy a similar spot (when calm prevails on the sea, we feel certain) and sing.

"Souvent assis avec cette fille chérie sur un rocher élevé, au bord de la mer, ils chantaient quelques morceaux choisis de l'Illiade et de l'Odyssée." Mart., I, p.5.

A great contrast to this quiet scene is that which is described in the following passage which is taken from the Velléda episode.

"Elle me prit par la main, et me conduisit sur la pointe la plus élevée du dernier rocher druidique. La mer se brisait audessous de nous parmi des écueils avec un bruit horrible. Ses tourbillons poussés par le vent, s'élançaient contre le rocher, et nous couvraient d'écume et d'étincelles de feu. Des nuages volaient dans le ciel sur la face de la lune, qui semblait courir rapidement à travers ce chaos." Mart., X, p.150.

A much quoted passage from René gives this attitude and proceeds with the changes which Christianity has wrought in the ancient land of Morven.

"Sur les monts de la Calédonie, le dernier barde qu'on ait ouï dans ces déserts me chanta les poèmes dont un héros consolait jadis sa vieillesse. Nous étions assis sur quatre pierres rongées de mousse, un torrent coulait à nos pieds, le chevreuil paissait à quelque distance parmi les débris d'une tour, et le vent des mers sifflait sur la bruyère de Cona. Maintenant la religion chrétienne, fille aussi des hautes montagnes, a placé des croix sur les monuments des héros de Morven, et touche la harpe de David au bord du même torrent où Ossian fit gémir la sienne. Aussi pacifique que les divinités de Selma étaient guerrières, elle garde des troupeaux où Fingal livrait des anges de paix dans les nuages qu'habitaient des fantômes homicides." René, p.89.

A slight variation is found in another part of Les Martyrs where Eudore, the speaker, seats himself on a hill overlooking the sea.

"...J'allai m'asseoir sur une haute colline d'où l'on apercevait le détroit britannique
.....je regardais la vaste étendue des flots."
Les Martyrs, X, p.146.

Another position extremely common in Ossian for the person who is deep in thought is at the foot of a tree. So in Les Natchez we find Chactas at the foot of a magnolia.

Chactas

"Je m'assis au pied du magnolia, et je m'entretins avec la foule de mes souvenirs."
Les Natchez, VIII, p.284.

In this spot, the "rêveur" concerns himself with memories and the less poetically-minded deliberates on the affairs of his nation.

"Les Francs s'assemblent une fois l'année, au mois de mars pour délibérer sur les affaires de la nation....Le roi s'assied sous un chêne". Mart., VII, p.108.

The oak tree of this last example is perhaps the most frequently mentioned tree in Ossian. A more attractive spot is attained when this tree is on the shore of a stream.

"J'écris assis sous l'arbre du désert, au bord d'un fleuve sans nom,"... Les Natchez, p.464.

More typically Ossianic is the occupation of the person in Les Natchez who is found in this same attitude.

"Un jour j'étais assis sous un pin: les flots étaient devant moi; je m'entretenais avec les vents de la mer et les tombeaux de mes ancêtres." Les Natchez, VIII, p.271.

Occasionally we find the character standing under the tree and resting against it. This is the position of Velléda when she is lying in wait for Eudore.

"La dernière fois elle (Velléda) resta longtemps appuyée contre un arbre, à regarder les murs de la forteresse". Mart., X, p.145.

Again, Eudore leans against one of the columns of the portico and looks out upon the sea.

"J'étais toujours surpris en arrivant au portique de me trouver au bord de la mer: car les vagues dans cet endroit faisaient à peine entendre le léger murmure d'une fontaine. En extase devant ce tableau, je m'appuyais contre une colonne, et sans pensée, sans désir, sans projet, je restais des heures entières à respirer un air délicieux". Mart., V, p.65.

Sometimes both the tree and the column are missing and the "rêveur" is simply sitting on the bank of a lake.

"Un soir celui-ci (René) était assis au bord d'un de ces lacs que l'on trouve partout dans les forêts du Nouveau Monde." Les Natchez, p.359.

A variation of this pose is found in René's place "sous la voute de la caverne".

"En effet, ils aperçurent René assis en face du fleuve, sous la voute de la caverne." Les Natchez, p.368.

In René, a nun looks out upon the deserted shore of the sea from her cell-

"Une religieuse assise dans une attitude pensive, elle rêvait à l'aspect de l'océan où apparaissait quelque vaisseau.... Elle contemplait la mer, éclairée par l'astre de la nuit, et semblait prêter l'oreille au bruit des vagues qui se brisaient tristement sur des grèves solitaires." René, p.106.

Chactas in Les Natchez (VII, p.265), has the same attitude but he is looking down on the ocean from the crow's nest of a vessel. Even the moon is pictured in this position in the Hymn to the Moon.

"Soit que penchée au bord des ondes du
Méschacebé tu t'abandonnes à la rêverie,
soit que tes pas s'égarent avec les fantômes
le long des pâles bruyères". Les Natchez, p.356.

Here may also be included Chactas' "rêverie" at the newly-made grave of Atala. "Je (Chactas) m'assis sur la terre fraîchement remuée. Un coude appuyé sur mes genoux, et la tête dans ma main, je demeurai enseveli dans la plus amère rêverie." (Atala, p.12). In Les Martyrs it is an old man who is seated upon the tomb. "Là se présente une tombe antique, que les Nymphes des montagnes avaient environnée d'ormes:.... un homme déjà sur l'âge, assis auprès du tombeau d'Aglaüs". (Mart., II, p.18). In the opinion of M. Chinard this particular scene may have been inspired in Chateaubriand by "Les Bergers d'Arcadie" - a well-known picture by Poussin. Chin in hand, elbows on knees, sitting under a tree or on a cliff overlooking a stream, a lake or an ocean, engrossed in thought of the past or in "rêverie", this is the Ossianic attitude which is frequently found in Chateaubriand's works.

It is but one step from "rêverie" to "fantômes" and these we find in the Ossianic "merveilleux", which is far more fascinating than the Christian "merveilleux", which is the result of Milton's influence. Species of fantômes

are the voices in the air. > In Les Natchez they are heard in the dark in the depth, of the woods. "On entend quelquechose de terrible passer dans l'obscurité, et du fond des forêts s'élève une voix qui n'a rien de l'homme." (Les Natchez, II, p.179). In Les Martyrs they are heard in the tree-tops. "On entend des voix mystérieuses dans la cime des arbres.." (Mart., XIII, p.190). It is very suitably a sad voice that rises in the air on the night when Eudore advises Constantin to flee just before a general massacre of the Christians.

"Le ciel était couvert de nuages, l'obscurité profonde; le vent gémissait dans les colonnes du temple, une voix triste s'élevait dans l'air; on croyait entendre par intervalles le mugissement de l'antre de la Sibylle, où ces paroles funèbres que les Chrétiens psalmodient pour les morts." Mart., XVII, p.262.

Similar to this is the moaning of the fountain and the lament of the breeze which Velléda explains is caused by her.

"'astu entendu la dernière nuit le gémissement d'une fontaine dans les bois, et la plainte de la brise dans l'herbe qui croît sur ta fenêtre? Eh bien! c'était moi qui soupirais dans cette fontaine et dans cette brise! Je me suis aperçue que tu aimais le murmure des eaux et des vents.'" Mart., X, p.142.

Atala hears "une voix plaintive" and sees flames rising from the ground,

"Quelquefois elle (Atala) me demandait si je n'entendais pas une voix plaintive, si je ne voyais pas des flammes sortir de la terre.." Atala, p.42.

and on her death-bed "elle conversait tout bas avec des esprits invisibles". (Atala, p.66.). To these voices we may compare those which Joan of Arc heard "dans la campagne, au bruit du vent dans les arbres," (Cf Renan, "La poésie des races celtiques" in Essais de morale et de critique, p.406), as a little girl and even during her trial. Joan of Arc was a Celt as were Chateaubriand and Ossian.

"Esprits", "fantômes", "génies" and "manitous" all appear especially in Les Natchez. They prove to be either favorably or ill disposed toward man. There are several instances of the appearance of such spirits to the characters of Chateaubriand's works. So it is that an old man comes forth from the river, who gives advice to Chactas and prophesies concerning the future (Les Natchez, VIII, p.284-5). Through the appearance of an "Esprit", Outougamiz learns that he is to choose the white man, René, as his life-long friend.

"'Un Esprit, dit Outougamiz, m'est apparu dans mes songes. Je n'ai pu voir son visage, car sa tête était voilée. Cet Esprit m'a dit: Le grand jeune homme blanc porte la moitié de ton coeur'". Les Natchez, III, p.193.

Not only do these supernatural-beings prophesy; they also give encouragement, as does "le brillant fantôme" - "une jeune fille", who appeared to the disheartened Outougamiz and urged him to continue on his way with his sick friend. (Les Natchez, XII, p.330-1). Finally, in Les Martyrs, (XVIII, p.271) a "fantôme" informed Cymodocée in her dreams of the conflagration of Jerusalem. Other examples of "Génies" in Les Natchez are collective. It is they in Les Natchez who have man's destiny in hand (Les Natchez, pp.501,183,274,281,335). Their will is law. Whatever is disagreeable to them is avoided. (Cf. the adoption of René by Chactas which was considered displeasing to the "Génies" Les Natchez, V, p.220). Chactas says: "'Mettons les Manitous équitables de notre côté, et si nous sommes enfin forcés à lever la hache, nous combattons avec l'assurance de la victoire...'" (Les Natchez, II, pp.184-5). The "Génies" have granted "une grande sagesse" to a sachem (Les Natchez, VI, p.238). The Sioux are dear to these spirits because of their hospitality (Les Natchez, VIII, p.278). These beings are respected and loved by the people in Les Natchez who are very grateful to them (VI, p.237,259; VII, p.255). Many of the savages maintained that a Génie had saved one of

their number. (Les Natchez, XII, p.327). When man's affairs do not run smoothly, he wonders whether he has offended these invisible spirits. Witness Céluta:

"Elle se demandait....si sa cabane, sa famille.... les Manitous, les Génies, n'avaient point eu à se plaindre d'elle"
Les Natchez, p.425.

He is truly mad who "désire être témoin de la colère des Génies" (Les Natchez, VII, :.267). In their just wrath they avenge hospitality which is violated. (Les Natchez, V, p.228).

There are, however, wicked ~~phantoms~~ and to these Cymodocée and her companion refer when they seek refuge from a former friend of Eudore who has become a hermit. This appears in an earlier edition of Les Martyrs.

"(Nous ne sommes point des fantômes de ténèbres) nous sommes des chrétiens fugitifs." (Mart., XVIII, p.273) in Giraud & Gschwind: "Les variantes in R.H.L. 1904. p.134.

A similar kind of ~~phantoms~~ enters the same edition.

"Les lois injustes qui dépeuplent la terre, la Tyrannie qui la ravage, (mille fantômes dévastateurs), rampent aux pieds du Démon de l'homicide". (Cf Mart., XVIII, p.267.).
Giraud et Gschwind: p.134.

It is believed that these wicked spirits persecute (Les

Natchez, p.467) man by causing him to be dumb (Les Natchez, VIII,p.280), or to speak rashly (Les Natchez, VI,p.232,) by visiting him with physical ills (Les Natchez VI,p.234) by bringing about the disappearance of his friends. (Cf Outougamiz, Les Natchez,XII,p.335).

Another kind of "génie" is to be found in Les Natchez. Chactas calls upon the Manitou of the cave in which he takes shelter. "'Qui que tu sois, m'écrit-je, Manitou de cette grotte, ne repousse pas un suppliant que le Grand-Esprit a jeté sur tes rivages'" (Les Natchez VIII,p.268.). In like manner we are told that "un Esprit de la tombe veillait jour et nuit à cette demeure", i.e. the cave where René was. (Les Natchez, p.368). Michabou, "Dieu des eaux", is pictured as raising twice a day "son front vert couronné de cheveux blancs", (Les Natchez,V,p.223). (Cf also p.266). "Est-ce le Génie même de ces mers qui gardent son empire et menace quiconque oserait y pénétrer?" (Les Natchez,VII,p.266). A "Génie" dwells in every wandering stream as we see from (Les Natchez,VII,p.261). "Bénissez cette cabane hospitalière, o Génie des fleuves errants!" A spirit of this kind presides over the hunting. (Les Natchez,p.470). Spirits of harmony dwell in the woods and are awakened by the "brises

de la lune" (Les Natchez, VI, p.244). All of these manifestations of the "merveilleux" occur in Ossian. This may be due ~~to~~ the feeling for nature of the Celtic races. "Leur mythologie n'est qu'un naturalisme transparent, non pas ce naturalisme anthropomorphique de la Grèce et de l'Inde.....mais un naturalisme en quelque sorte, l'amour de la nature pour elle-même, l'impression vive de sa magie, accompagnée du mouvement de tristesse que l'homme éprouve quand, face à face avec elle, il croit l'entendre lui parler de son origine et de sa destinée." (Cf. Renan: "La poésie des races celtiques" p.402-3). Among the Cymry, we have "le naturalisme parfait, la foi indéfinie dans le possible, la croyance à l'existence d'êtres indépendants et portant en eux-mêmes le principe de leur force:.... Aussi ces individus étranges sont-ils toujours présentes comme en dehors de l'Eglise..." (Renan, p.415-416).

The "fantôme que l'on croit voir dans l'hymne à la Mort" (Les Natchez, p.499) brings us to the final kind of spirit found in Chateaubriand's works which we may ascribe to the influence of Ossian. ✓ In Atala it is the ghost of Atala's mother who reproaches her.

"Mais ton ombre, o ma mère, ton ombre était
 toujours là me reprochant ses tourments!"
Atala, p.58.

The shades of Atala and of père Aubry appear to the son of Outalissi, quite in the vein of Ossian.

"Le fils d'Outalissi a raconté que plusieurs fois, aux approches de la nuit, il avait cru voir les ombres d'Atala et du père Aubry s'élever dans la vapeur du crépuscule."
Atala, p.78.

Again, in Les Natchez, (p.522) Céluta thinks she sees her mother, Tabamica, who has been dead for a long time. In this same story, Mila who returns to Céluta, after every one supposes that she has drowned, must explain:

"Je ne suis point un fantôme, répondit Mila, déjà tombée dans le sein de son amie; je suis ta petite Mila". Les Natchez, p.518.

so widespread is the belief in the return of the ghosts of the dead. It is a frequent occurrence in Ossian to have the ghosts return and talk to their relatives and friends, giving them advice, encouragement and consolation.

This leads us to another class of borrowings from Ossian - "mélancolie". An expression of this sentiment is the concern for "tombeaux" which we find occasionally in Chateaubriand's works. Thus in René we read of "les pâles tombeaux":

"tantôt la lune, se levant dans un ciel pur entre deux ~~ut~~nes cinéraires à moitié brisées, me montrait les pâles tombeaux. Souvent aux rayons de cet astre qui alimente les rêveries, j'ai cru voir le Génie des souvenirs, assis tout pensif à mes côtés". René, p.88.

A curious case of a verbal similarity has been noted in speaking of tombs.

"'Mes os, o mon fils! reposeraient mollement dans la cabane de la mort.'" Les Natchez, I, p.165.

"Here let him rest in his narrow house.
Ossian: Fingal, II, p.122.

The "narrow house" of Ossian has become in Chateaubriand "la cabane de la mort". We have seen how favorite a resting-place is the spot beneath a tree. It is but natural, then, to find this a favorite spot for the burying of the dead in Ossian. The following translation of a story of one of Ossian's imitators bears proof to this fact.

"La pierre moussue apprendra à l'étranger le lieu de leur repos; le chêne leur prêtera son ombre." E.L.A., p.728, Translation of Smith's Gaul.

This idea has gone over into Les Natchez, where we find

"le tombeau d'un Indien sous le chêne de sa patrie". Les Natchez, p.161.

Another favorite spot for the living "rêveur" as we have seen was within sight and sound of water. Here, again, is to be found the tomb. In Les Martyrs, there are two examples of this:

"Le monument (le tombeau de Scipion l'Africain) s'élève au bord de la mer." Mart., p.69.

"...je me trouvais à la vue des flots du Pont-Euxin. Je découvris un tombeau de pierre sur lequel croissait un laurier." Mart., VII, p.110.

This regard for the dead is characteristic of the Celts. Renan says, (p.382) "Nulle part la condition des morts n'a été meilleure que chez les peuples bretons; nulle part le tombeau ne recueille autant de souvenirs et de prières."

Another way in which the Ossianic melancholy manifests itself is in the characters of Atala, René, and perhaps in Velléda. M. Van Tieghem has expressed very well that found in Ossian in these words:

"le paysage qui parlait à son coeur avec tant d'éloquence, le sentiment, ce vague à l'âme, ce désir de vivre ailleurs, cette envie de mourir, toute cette mélancolie qu'il a fondue dans la sienne." Van Tieghem: Ossian en France, II, p.209.

René expresses this same "vague à l'âme":

"Il me manquait quelque chose pour remplir l'abîme de mon existence: je descendais dans la vallée, je m'élevais sur la montagne, appelant de toute la force de mes désirs l'idéal objet d'une flamme future; je l'embrassais dans les vents; je croyais l'entendre dans les gémissements du fleuve; tout était ce fantôme imaginaire, et les astres dans les cieux, et le principe même de vie dans l'univers". René, p.93.

In this quest for something which is never attained, René comes to America, hoping to find relief in the primitive, savage nature of the New World. Weighed down by a secret grief, he seeks alleviation by entering into the life of the Natchez. Scarcely has he begun his life with the Indians, when Céluta falls in love with him, thus adding

another trouble to his already heavy burden. As he is the friend of Céluta's brother he refuses to offend his friend and Céluta, and so ~~he~~ is persuaded to enter upon a loveless marriage. So he continues to heap up misfortunes upon himself and his friends which finally culminate in his death. A "triste destinée" seems to pursue him regardless of what he does.

This, too, is the character of Atala. In her case it is too strict an interpretation of her vows to her dying mother never to marry that brings about her sad life. M. Van Tieghem suggests (II, p. 198-9) that "la conception même de Velléda peut devoir quelque chose aux vierges de Morven, bien qu'aucune n'ait, tant s'en faut, cette fièvre allure et ces dons prophétiques". She has, however, that same melancholy life. As a Druidic priestess she is destined always to remain a virgin. When Eudore comes to Brittany, however, she falls madly in love with him. His absolute disinterest maddens her and adds to her natural melancholy. After he has yielded to her charms, she kills herself in a fit of remorse. Ossian and Chateaubriand have in common this melancholy which Renan (p. 386) has expressed thus: "L'élément essentiel de la vie poétique du Celte, c'est l'aventure, c'est-à-dire la poursuite de l'inconnu, une course sans fin après

l'objet toujours fuyant du désir.....Cette race veut l'infini; elle en a soif, elle le poursuit à tout prix, au delà de la tombe, au delà de l'enfer."

Another type of borrowings may be called epic. The names applied to the characters, as suggested by M. Van Tieghem (Ossian en France: II,p.199), come under this heading. Ossianic are such expressions as la "fille de l'exil", "le fils de l'étranger" (Les Natchez, III,p.195); "l'homme des anciens jours", applied to père Aubry (Atala,p.48), "l'homme de paix" (p.55), and "l'homme du rocher" (p.71). I might add such as "la fille de Tabamica" and "le frère d'Amélie" from Les Natchez, which recall the "daughter of Toscar" and the "son of Ossian". All these ways of naming persons, are however, characteristic of the epic. One of these names is applied to a character who often enters epics in one guise or another, i.e. the wise old man, "le père Aubry" in Atala, Cyrille, "un homme d'un visage vénérable" (Les Martyrs,II,p.25) and "le Solitaire du Vésuve"(Les Martyrs,p.71.)

Entertaining a company of guests by singing to the accompaniment of a lyre is Ossianic as well as Homeric. Cymodocée and Eudore do this in Les Martyrs.(II,p.27ff) The Bards of the "barbares" "suivaient en chantant sur une espèce de guitare les louanges de Teutatès". (Les Martyrs,

IX, p.136). Singing the praise of one's master was frequent in epics. The "guitare is heard again in Les Martyrs, (X, p.146) though this is a Spanish instrument. Chateaubriand's use of the word is explained in a Remarque: (Les Martyrs, p.506) "Les Bardes ne connaissent point la lyre, encore moins la harpe, comme les prétendus Bardes de Macpherson. Toutes ces choses sont des moeurs fausses, qui ne servent qu'à brouiller les idées. Diodore de Sicile (liv.V) parle de l'instrument de musique des Bardes et il en fait une espèce de cithare ou de guitare." In his discussion of Anglo-Saxons and Danes in England, Chateaubriand says: "La cithare ou la guitare était en usage dans les Gaules, et la harpe dans l'île des Bretons." (E.L.A., p.29). To the bards of Cona is attributed the custom of hanging their lyres upon the trees. "Aux branches d'un saule voisin était suspendue une lyre plus forte et plus grande.,"
-that of Eudore¹ (Les Martyrs, II, p.29).

Other epic details which are similar in Ossian and Chateaubriand deal with battle. In the battle between Lochlin and Inis-fail,

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Both authors have drawn upon Psalm CXXXVII: "aux saules de la contrée nous avions suspendu nos harpes".

"Helmets are cleft on high. Blood bursts and smokes around. Strings murmur on the polished yews. Darts rush along the sky. Spears fall like the circles of light, which gild the face of night. As the noise of the troubled ocean, when roll the waves on high. As the last peal of thunder in Heaven, such is the din of war! Though Cormac's hundred bards were there, to give the fight to song; feeble was the voice of a hundred bards to send the deaths to future times! For many were the deaths of heroes; wide poured the blood of the brave!"
Ossian, II, Fingal, I, p.64.

"La mêlée s'échauffe: un tourbillon de poussière rougie s'élève et s'arrête au-dessus des combattants. Le sang coule comme les torrents grossis par les pluies de l'hiver, comme les flots de l'Europe dans le détroit de l'Eubée..... Au brillant éclat des armes a succédé la sombre couleur de la poussière et du carnage. Les casques sont brisés, les panaches abattus, les boucliers fendus, les cuirasses percées. L'haleine enflammée de cent mille combattants, le souffle épais des chevaux, la vapeur des sueurs et du sang, forment sur le champ de bataille une espèce de météore que traverse de temps en temps la lueur d'un glaive, comme le trait brillant du foudre dans la livide clarté d'un orage. Au milieu des cris, des insultes, des menaces, du bruit des épées, des coups des javelots, du sifflement des flèches et des dards, du gémissement des machines de guerre, on n'entend plus la voix des chefs." (Mart., VI, p.90-91).

"Blood bursts" is very tamely stated in Chateaubriand as "le sang coule". One crude detail is taken over by Chateaubriand - the "smoke of the blood". The other, denoting action, might be characteristic of any epic struggle.

Finally in this same battle, one of the Roman legions is led by "une colonne de feu et de nuées". Though I gave this as an example of a borrowing from Milton, I have found in Fingal and elsewhere in Ossian that the leader of an army is compared to a pillar of fire or to a pillar of smoke.

"Ils (les Francs) ont conté qu'ils voyaient
à la tête de cette légion (la légion chrétienne)
une colonne de feu et de nuées...."
Mart, VI, p.93.

"Ryno went on like a pillar of fire"
Ossian II: Fingal III, p.97).

"He moves, below, like a pillar of fire"(V, p.118).

"But is that Cuthullin, O Fillan, or a pillar of smoke on the heath" (p.139).

To none of these classes belong the following borrowings. The description of Mila's body after she has drowned, as it is thought out by Outagamiz, recalls the death of Minvela and of Crimora. The account in Les Natchez is, however, far more detailed.

"Les cheveux charmants sont maintenant souillés dans les limons du fleuve! cette bouche, que l'amour semblait entr'ouvrir, est remplie de sable! Cette femme qui était tout âme il y a quelques heures, cette femme que la vie animait de toute sa mobilité, maintenant froide, fixée à jamais dans les bras de la mort! Qu'elle a été vite oubliée, la tendre amie qui n'existait que pour ses amis! Sa famille n'y pense déjà plus;"¹.... Les Natchez, p.479.

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Here Chateaubriand has remembered the following passage from Dargo though at an earlier date he had failed to translate it. Cf p.22 of this manuscript.

"With morning he (Colda) found her (Minvela)
on the sounding beach. Her blood was mixt
with the oozy foam." Smith's Galic Antiquities
"Dargo" p.140.

"They came, in silence to comfort Crimora;
but in her bed of ooze, they found the maid.
They found her cold as a wreath of snow;
fair as a swan on the shore of Sano. (Ibid.p.139)

The idea of friendship which is so beautifully pictured
in Les Natchez, and especially Outougamiz's desire and
determination not to kill his friend René may have been
suggested by this part of Fingal. (Ossian Vol.II,
Fingal, II, p.83-4). "Son of Damman, began the fair,
Cuthullin hath pained my soul. I must hear of his
death, or Lubar's stream shall roll over me..... Pour
out the blood of Cuthullin or pierce this heaving breast.
Deugala! said the fair-haired youth, 'how shall I slay the
son of Semo? He is the friend of my secret thoughts. Shall
I then lift the sword?'.....'I will fight my friend,
Damman! but may I fall by his sword! Could I wander on
the hill alone? Could I behold the grave of Cuthullin?'
We fought on the plain of Muri. Our swords avoid a wound.
..... Defend thee from the hand of thy friend.....'"
(p.84). The comparison of an old man to an oak tree that
has withered away is found in René and Les Natchez and is
frequent in Ossian.

"Un vieillard avec ses souvenirs ressemble au chêne décrépit de nos bois: ce chêne ne se décore plus de son propre feuillage, mais il couvre quelque fois sa nudité des plantes étrangères qui ont végété sur ses antiques rameaux". René, p.91.

Le Soleil:

"L'épreuve du feu commencera par moi, parce que je suis un chêne desséché sur ma tige, et propre à m'embraser rapidement."

Les Natchez, p.322.

The final detail to add to this list of borrowings is that of the wind whistling through one's hair.

"Ainsi disant, je marchais à grands pas, le visage enflammé, le vent sifflant dans ma chevelure," René, p.95.

"The wind whistled thro' his locks"

Ossian: ll Fingal, p.98.

With the exception of these minor details and of the characteristically epic elements, Chateaubriand has borrowed from Ossian principally the outstanding points of his wild landscape which inspires the "rêverie" - usually melancholy - of the person who sits or stands and looks down upon it. This Ossianic attitude is scattered through all of Chateaubriand's novels. The "merveilleux" which also appears in Ossian and is borrowed by Chateaubriand is characteristic of the Celtic race. Each tree, fountain, wood, stream, in fact, every part of nature is possessed by a "génie" who is to the Celts a very real being. There is in addition to these "génies"

associated with definite things, a host of "esprits" in whose hands lies the destiny of man. The last kind of supernatural being is the ghost which has several missions in Ossian as well as in Chateaubriand. The shade of melancholy is present there and finally has its full expression externally in the "tombeaux" and otherwise in the characters of Velléda, Atala and René.

Besides actual borrowings from Ossian, Chateaubriand's interest in Ossian is evident in criticisms. The earliest of these after his return from England occurs in the "Lettre à M. Fontanes" late in 1800. In this he is led to speak of Ossian because of a statement of Mme de Staël to the effect that Ossian was "la grande fontaine du Nord où tous les bardes se sont enivrés de mélancolie" (*Génie*, pp. XXXI-XXXII). "J'avoue", Chateaubriand continues, "que cette idée de Mme de Staël me plaît fort. J'aime à me représenter les deux aveugles; l'un sur la cime d'une montagne d'Ecosse, la tête chauve, la barbe humide, la harpe à la main, et dictant ses lois, du milieu des brouillards, à tout le peuple poétique de la Germanie: l'autre, assis sur le sommet du Pinde, environné des Muses qui tiennent sa lyre, élevant son front couronné sous le beau ciel de la Grèce..." This comparison

is suggested by Mme de Staël. Ossian is a Christian to Chateaubriand, therefore his added interest in him. Mme de Staël has confused Ossian's poems with certain Scandinavian poetry. One difference is pointed out by Chateaubriand. "Les premières (i.e. the Scandinavian) ne respirent que brutalité et vengeances. M. Macpherson lui-même a bien soin de marquer cette différence, et de mettre en contraste les guerriers de Morven et les guerriers de Lochlin". (Génie, p.XXXV). Chateaubriand declares that the ode which Mme de Staël recalls in a note has even been quoted and considered by Blair a contrast to the poems of Macpherson.

From Chateaubriand, we learn that she persists in believing in the authenticity of the poems. "Elle a trop d'esprit et de raison pour ne pas sentir que c'est toujours un mauvais système que celui qui repose sur une base aussi contestée", he says. Only foreigners are still the dupes of Macpherson. "J'ai été," he continues, "longtemps trompé par cet ingénieux mensonge: enthousiaste d'Ossian comme un jeune homme que j'étais alors, il m'a fallu passer plusieurs années à Londres parmi les gens de lettres, pour être entièrement désabusé. Mais enfin je n'ai pu résister à la conviction, et les palais de Fingal se sont

évanouis pour moi, comme beaucoup d'autres songes."

(Génie, p.XXXII). In view of his own disillusionment and the fact that "Toute l'Angleterre est convaincue que les poèmes qui portent ce nom sont l'ouvrage de M. Macpherson lui-même", Chateaubriand can not understand Mme de Staël's failure to accept the real author. Thus he launches forth into a discussion of the controversy over the authenticity of Ossian. "Vous connaissez toute l'ancienne querelle du docteur Johnson et du traducteur supposé du barde calédonien. M. Macpherson, poussé à bout, ne put jamais montrer le manuscrit de Fingal, dont il avait fait une histoire ridicule, prétendant qu'il l'avait trouvé dans un vieux coffre chez un paysan; que ce manuscrit était en papier et en caractères runiques." Johnson then replied that paper and the runic alphabet were not in use in Scotland at the time stated by Macpherson. The poems of Ossian were translated from English into Celtic "car plusieurs montagnards écossais sont devenus complices de la fraude de leur compatriote." (Génie, p.XXXIII). At the date at which Chateaubriand was writing, one text containing some of Smith's poems had already appeared. The English and French press, in 1800, promised the early publication of the real Ossian, which, we learn elsewhere

in Chateaubriand, never appeared.

After giving this brief account of the controversy, the writer of the letter proceeds to set forth proofs of the lateness of the writing of Ossian. "L'homme du dix-huitième siècle y perce de toutes parts". Chateaubriand then quotes from memory the bard's apostrophe to the sun: "Osoleil, lui dit-il, qui es-tu? d'où viens-tu? où vas-tu? ne tomberas-tu point un jour, etc.?" Such abstract ideas of extent of time are found on every page of Ossian (Génie, p.XXXIII). "Mais ce qui prouve incontestablement que M. Macpherson est l'auteur des poèmes d'Ossian, c'est la perfection, ou le beau idéal de la morale," which has its origin in society. (Génie, p.XXXIII). Whence could Ossian have taken this "morale parfaite"? Surely not from religion, says Chateaubriand, since no such thing exists in his works. If this perfectabilité proceeds from nature "comment le sauvage Ossian, sur un rocher de la Calédonie, tandis que tout était cruel, barbare, sanguinaire, grossier autour de lui, serait-il arrivé en quelques jours à des connaissances morales que Socrate eut à peine dans les siècles les plus éclairés de la Grèce,"... (Génie, p.XXXV). M. Macpherson has moreover, made mistakes in natural history "qui suffiraient seules pour découvrir le mensonge" (Ibid. XXXV). These

mistakes were made because Macpherson "a chanté sa montagne, son parc", in which he had had some trees planted "et le génie de sa religion" - the Christian religion, in the books of which he was well versed. The final proof of the time in which the poems were written which Chateaubriand sets forth is the fact that they would in all probability have been collected before the time of Macpherson, if they had been in existence. The well-known poets would also have mentioned them. "Gray, lui-même, si voisin de nous, dans son ode du Barde, ne rappelle pas une seule fois le nom d'Ossian. (Génie, p. XXXVI, Note 1). Compare a statement made by Gray in his correspondence and quoted by Mézières, Histoire critique de la Littérature anglaise (II, p. 318.) 1834 "Dès le principe avant même la publication des poésies erses, et sur la lecture de quelques manuscrits, il (Gray) s'en déclare le champion....'Pour moi, je n'admire plus rien que Fingal. Pourtant je reste encore indécis sur l'authenticité de ses poèmes, quoique j'incline plutôt à y croire, en dépit du monde. Qu'ils soient l'oeuvre de l'antiquité, ou l'invention d'un Ecossais moderne, ces deux suppositions sont également inexplicables pour moi: je m'y perds.'"

Nevertheless Chateaubriand is confident of the existence of ancient poems of Irish or of Gaelic origin. "C'est l'ouvrage de quelques moines du treizième siècle", which deals with Fingal, a "géant qui ne fait qu'une enjambée d'Ecosse en Irlande; et les héros vont en Terre-Sainte pour expier les meurtres qu'ils ont commis." (Génie, p. XXXIII). In spite of his disillusionment, even in Macpherson's Ossian he finds some merit. Temora and Fingal "n'en sont pas moins le vrai modèle d'une sorte de mélancolie du désert, pleine de charmes." (Génie, p. XXXV). Since they still attract him he has ordered "la petite édition qu'on vient de publier dernièrement en Ecosse; et, ne vous en déplaise, mon cher ami, je ne sors plus sans mon Homère de Wetstein dans une poche, et mon Ossian de Glasgow dans l'autre". (Génie, p. XXXV). He concludes this his earliest criticism of Ossian after his return to France with these words: "Pour moi, mon cher ami, vous voyez que j'ai tout à gagner par la chute d'Ossian, et que, chassant la perfecta bilité mélancolique des tragédies de Shakespeare, des Nuits de Young, de l'Héloïse de Pope, de la Clarisse de Richardson, j'y rétablis victorieusement la mélancolie des idées religieuses." (Génie, p. XXXVI).

In March 1801, we find the next mention of Ossian in Chateaubriand's works, in an essay on Young, which appeared ⁱⁿ the Mercur de France. There we read, "Ossian se lève aussi au milieu de la nuit pour pleurer; mais Ossian pleure: Lead, son of Alpin,...." (Voyages et mélanges littéraires: "Young" p.337). At the close of the translation Chateaubriand continues: "Voilà des images tristes, voilà de la rêverie". (Ibid.). The English people, we are told, consider the prose of Ossian as poetic as his verse. It has all the inversions of the poetry and is also "beau, simple, naturel". Though it is generally believed that such melancholy images as these - borrowed from the winds, the moon, the clouds - are unknown to the ancients, Chateaubriand hastens to tell us that they occur in Homer and in Virgil. He cites from the latter an example in which we find "Ossian sous le ciel de Naples, sous un ciel où la ^{lumière est plus pure et les vapeurs plus} transparentes". (Ibid. p.338).

The following year, 1802, sees the publication of the Génie, in which we find that Homer and Ossian "ont chanté les plaisers de la douleur: κρυερὸν τεταρπόμεθα γόοιο, the joy of grief"¹ (Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, ch.15, p.273. Cf p.XXXV)

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This is apparently a misquotation and misinterpretation of the Odyssey XI:212 κρυερὸν τεταρπόμεθα γόοιο which has been translated by MacKail (F.W. The Odyssey in English verse) "and be satisfied with frozen wailing?" or "chilly lamentation."

In this work "Homère vient se placer auprès de Milton, Virgile à côté du Tasse: les ruines de Memphis et d'Athènes contrastent avec les ruines des monuments chrétiens, les tombeaux d'Ossian avec nos cimetières de campagne." (Génie, 1^{re} part., l. 1, ch. 1, p. 7). Under the caption: "Les ruines des monuments chrétiens en Ecosse" our critic says: "Il n'est aucune ruine d'un effet plus pittoresque que ces débris: sous un ciel nébuleux, au milieu des vents et des tempêtes, au bord de cette mer dont Ossian a chanté les orages, leur architecture gothique a quelque chose de grand..." (Génie, 3^e part., l. 5, ch. 5, p.393). Man is compared to Ossian - "assise sur les tombeaux des rois de Morven: quelque part qu'il étende sa main dans l'ombre, il touche les cendres de ses pères". (Génie, 4^e part., l. 2, ch. 5, p.433). In Caledonia, "Quatre pierres couvertes de mousse marquent sur les bruyères de la Calédonie la tombe des guerriers de Fingal. Oscar et Malvina ont passé, mais rien n'est changé dans leur solitaire patrie. Le montagnard écossais se plaît encore à redire les chants de ses ancêtres; il est encore brave, sensible, généreux; ses mœurs modernes sont comme le souvenir de ses mœurs antiques: ce n'est plus, qu'on nous pardonne l'image, ce n'est plus la main du barde même qu'on entend sur la harpe: c'est ce frémissement des cordes

produit par le toucher d'une ombre, lorsque la nuit, dans une salle déserte, elle annonçait la mort d'un héros". There follows a quotation from Ossian:

"Carril accompanied his voice. The music was like the memory of joys that are past ..." which is translated into French. (Génie, 4^e part, l. 2, ch.4, pp.432-3).

The last quotation is given again in the notes (p.618) to exemplify "la poésie erse". The only mention of Ossian in Les Martyrs, 1809, is the author's admission that he has used Les Remarques de Blair sur Ossian for the customs of the Franks. (Préface, p.XII). In the Mémoires criticism of Ossian is merely incidental. In 1822 (M.d'O.-T., II, p.202) Chateaubriand wrote in his discussion of Byron that "Byron aime d'abord la Bible et Ossian comme je les aimais". At this same time he said of Beattie that he was "destiné à verser des larmes; la mort de son fils brisa son coeur paternel: comme Ossian après la perte de son Oscar il suspendit sa harpe aux branches d'un chêne". (Cf M.d'O.-T., II, p.202).

Both these remarks are repeated in the later Essai sur la littérature anglaise, in which the real authorship of Ossian is again exposed in the discussion of English literature of the earliest period. "Après

Tacite qui a paraphrasé quelques mots de Galgacus conservés par tradition dans les camps romains, un abîme se creuse: on traverse quinze siècles avant d'entendre parler de nouveau des Bretons, et encore comment!

Macpherson transportant en Ecosse le barde Irlandais Ossian défigurant la véritable histoire de Fingal, cousant trois ou quatre lambeaux de vieilles ballades à un mensonge, nous représente un poète de la Calédonie tout aussi réellement que Tacite nous en a représenté un guerrier. Puisque après tout nous n'avons qu'Ossian; puisque les fragments qu'on pourrait donner comme venant des Bardes, appartiennent plutôt aux diverses espèces de chanteurs que je rappellerai tout à l'heure, il faut bien faire usage du travail de Macpherson." (E.L.A., pp.24-5)

This he does not, however, do. Since John Smith's Antiquities are not so widely known as Macpherson, Chateaubriand proceeds to quote a passage from the second song of Dargo, (which he himself had translated in 1797. Cf. E.L.A., pp.707-8). Again in the Essai, Shakespeare's women are called "ombres ossianiques du théâtre anglais". (p.120). Probably at this time or a few years later, Chateaubriand says in M.d'O.-T. (IV, p.103:) "Il (Napoléon) restait presque toujours renfermé, et lisait Ossian de la

traduction italienne de Cesarotti".

Chateaubriand's criticism consists then, of quotation, of study of the controversy, and of the Correction of Mme de Staël's statements. Here as in the borrowings he stresses the melancholy of Ossian's works. We are led to believe that Chateaubriand knew Ossian thoroughly and that he understood him probably because he and Ossian were both Celts.

CHAPTER IV.

In the Essai sur la littérature anglaise, the last work to be discussed by us, Chateaubriand showed himself a pioneer in the field of the history of English literature; in spite of all the Essai's faults and of the fact that it is a compilation of separate articles. Before 1836, l'Abbé Yart had, in 1749, written Idée de la poésie anglaise and Hennet, in 1806, La poétique anglaise. Pichot in 1824 had treated both English poetry and English prose in an informal and scattered manner in his Voyage. Two years before the appearance of the Essai, Mézières had published a critical history of English literature, from the time of Bacon to the 19th century. Mézières, however, had discussed only "morale, roman," and "genre épistolaire". According to the preface of this work, there were in existence no good English histories of literature. It is decidedly to Chateaubriand's credit, then, to have undertaken such a task. The Avertissement (p.3) of the Essai contains this statement by the author. "L'Essai se compose

1. De quelques morceaux détachés de mes anciennes études, morceaux corrigés dans le style, rectifiés pour les jugements, augmentés ou resserrés quant au texte;

2. De divers extraits de mes Mémoires extraits qui se trouvaient avoir des rapports directs ou indirects avec le travail que je livre au public;

3. De recherches récentes relatives à la matière de cet Essai."

A little later (p.7) is stated the author's purpose in writing the Essai

"Au reste, je parle fort au long de Milton dans l'Essai sur la littérature anglaise, puisque je n'ai écrit cet Essai qu'à l'occasion du Paradis perdu."

Since the author doubts the possibility of judging works written in a foreign language, (Cf E.L.A., p.123: "si toutefois on peut juger les ouvrages étrangers, ce dont je doute beaucoup"), we are led to doubt the worth of his criticisms of English literature. We have already seen what use Chateaubriand made of Addison's Remarques sur le Paradis perdu and have still more reason, therefore, to doubt the originality of his criticisms of other figures in English. Chateaubriand, moreover, gives us in his Avertissement a partial list of authorities whom he has consulted. To study the Essai thoroughly would require an intensive inquiry into the sources of Chateaubriand's statements. Chateaubriand, moreover, rarely if ever mentions many of the writers discussed in his Essai. Taking into consideration, then, the composition of this work, the reason for its composition, the author's ability to judge the subject treated, the questionable originality of his remarks, the fact that Chateaubriand seldom mentions any of the authors discussed and the fact that the financial remuneration attached to the production

of this volume had much to do with its appearance, taking into consideration all these facts, we have decided to study at length only certain parts of the Essai.

Before stating our choice we might enumerate the works and authors discussed by Chateaubriand. After an introduction devoted to the language and to the Middle Ages, Chateaubriand begins his study with a chapter on the Breton and the Anglo-Saxon epoch, which lasts up to the time of William the Conqueror. Thence to the time of Henry VIII, he discusses the Anglo-norman "trouvères"; "Paradis terrestre" and "Descente aux enfers"; miracles, mysteries and satires; change in the literature and the contest for supremacy of the two languages, resulting in the use of the national language in legal documents. Chaucer, Gower, and Barbour are the next writers considered. From a discussion of the latter's poem on liberty, Chateaubriand is led to speak of the "sentiment de la liberté politique", comparing the French and English nations. The writings of James I of Scotland, Dumbard, Douglas, Worcester, and Rivers are the last to be considered with the exception of the anonymous ballads. The second part of the Essai is devoted to "Littérature sous les Tudors" and includes a

treatise on the reformation. In addition to Luther's works, Chateaubriand here speaks of those of Knox and Buchanan, of Henry VIII, Surrey, Thomas More, Edward VI and Mary. Of the writers of the time of Elisabeth, he deals with two only: with Spenser in a few words and with Shakespeare at great length. With the period of the first two Stuarts, we come to the third part of the Essai, in which Chateaubriand discourses upon the Basilicon Doron of James I and upon the works of Raleigh and Cowley. The political writings under Charles I and Cromwell, which follow, give the author of the Essai an opportunity to bring in the Abbé de Lamennais and other Frenchmen as well as Locke, Hobbes, Denham, Harrington, and Harvey. In this connection begins the study of Milton, which completes this part of Chateaubriand's work. The next part, entitled: "Littérature sous les deux derniers Stuarts" offers another opening for comparison of the English and the French. Cromwell enters here as does also Lovelace. Tillotson, Temple, Burnet, Clarendon and Algernon-Sidney are the representatives of the prose of this period and Dryden, Prior, Waller, Buckingham, Roscommon, Rochester and Shaftesbury of the poetry. Butler is the last writer of this epoch to be discussed. With the "Littérature sous la maison d' Hanovre"

we come to the last part of this work. Before turning to the works of authors, Chateaubriand gives us an account of the state of the English language, of the effect of criticism on languages and of the reasons for which "il n'y aura plus de renommées littéraires universelles". He then proceeds to a brief statement about the Classic school, about Addison, Pope, Swift and Steele and their periodicals. After noting the passage from Classic literature to didactic, descriptive, and sentimental literature, Chateaubriand lists the poems of different authors. There follows a slightly more detailed study of Young, Gray, Thomson, and the French writers they influenced, Delille and Fontanes. The account of the literature of this period continues with the historians and political economists. The titles of the final chapters may serve to show the extent of Chateaubriand's study of the remainder of this period.

Théâtre - Mistriss Siddons - Parterre - Invasion de la littérature allemande.

Eloquence politique - Fox - Burke - Pitt.

Changement des Moeurs Anglaises.

Voyages - Le Capitaine Ross - Jacquemont - Lamartine

Romans

Nouveaux Romans

Walter Scott - Les Juives

Ecole des Lacs - Poètes des classes industrielles.

La Princesse Charlotte - Knox.

Chansons - Lord Dorset - Béranger.

Beattie.

Lord Byron.

This is the scope of the Essai.

From the first part, I have chosen the sections devoted to the anglo-norman "trouvères" to the period of Chaucer, and to the ballads. Before he takes up the individual "trouvères anglo-normans", Chateaubriand tells us of the different languages which were used at the time of William and his immediate successors. "On écrivit et l'on chanta en latin, en calédonien, en gallique, en anglo-saxon, en Roman des trouvères et quelquefois en Roman des troubadours". (E.L.A., p.31). These were the languages in which were written and sung: "lais, ballades, rotruenges, chansons à carole, chansons de gestes, contes, sirventois, satires, fabliaux, jeuxpartis, dictiés". (E.L.A., p.31). For this enumeration Chateaubriand has gone to l'Abbé de la Rue's work on "Les trouvères Anglo-normans^{d 1}", which the author of the Essai mentions in his Avertissement. "Les poésies légères des Jongleurs sont celles qu'ils nommaient Chansons, rotruenges, balletes ou balades, bergerettes ou

1 La Rue, Gervais de, abbé, Essais historiques sur les bardes, les jongleurs et les trouvères normands et anglo-normands, Caen, Mancel, 1834.

pastourelles, li Rondel ou Rondeaux, saluts, complaints
 Romances, Estampies ou Estampilles, Equivoques, Fables,
 Fabliaux, Contes, Sirventaois, Satires, Jeux Partis, Dits
 ou Dictiés ... " (De la Rue: Les trouvères anglo-normans, I,
 p.190).

After these statements about the language and
 form of the literature of this early period, Chateaubriand
 takes up the "trouvères" and their works. The first of
 these is Robert de Courte-Heuse, eldest son of William the
 Conqueror, who "apprit la langue des bardes gallois" during
 his twenty-eight year imprisonment in a chateau at Cardiff.
 From his prison he could see a gigantic oak-tree which
 dominated the forest covering the promⁿotory of Penarth. To
 this tree he addressed a complaint which Chateaubriand has
 quoted in part. For this whole account of Robert, Chateau-
 briand has quite evidently used De la Rue: Les trouvères
anglo-normans. I, pp.88ff.) Of the poem quoted in full by
 De la Rue, Chateaubriand has cited only the first line of
 three stanzas and the last line of the final one. The
 next literary work of the period, "l'histoire populaire du
 Marquis au court-nez", the fame of which is attested, (p.32),
 is merely mentioned by Chateaubriand, though treated at
 greater length by De la Rue (II, pp. 98 ff.). Richard Coeur-

de Lion, we are told, was crowned as a troubadour. His menestrel - Guillaume Blondel, "qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec le trouvère Blondel de Nesle", also wrote verse. It was De la Rue (II,p.325), "Fauchet, Warton, Guinguené et autres écrivains se sont mépris en confondant ce poète avec Blondel de Nesle, et en faisant de ce dernier un Menestrel ou jongleur de Richard Coeur-de-Lion,") who set Chateaubriand straight on this point. "Une description curieuse de Rome et de ses monuments" is given in les Joies de Notre Dame by Guillaume who has also written "un petit poème fort ingénieux, sur ces trois mots, fumée, pluie et femme, qui chassent un homme de sa maison" (E.L.A.,p.32). In this as well as in the explanation of the allegorical significance of the three words, Chateaubriand has followed De la Rue (II,p.275), "la maison, c'est le ciel, la fumée, l'orgueil; la pluie, la convoitise; la femme, la volupté: trois choses qui empêchent d'entrer dans le ciel, maison de l'homme..... la femme méchante, c'est la luxure, trois vices qui expulsent l'homme du ciel". "Un moine du mont St. Michel, Guillaume de Saint-Pair according to De la Rue, (II,p.301) describes the fetes of the monastery. Geoffroy Gaimar borrowed from the "bardes gallois le Brut

d'Angleterre que Wace traduisit du latin de Geoffroy de Montmouth". (E.L.A., p.32). The same statements are made by De la Rue (II, p.104), whom Chateaubriand cites in this discussion. There follows an account of Arthur's ancestors which lead him back to Brut. Chateaubriand fails to understand continued search for the origin of the "merveilles" of the knights of the Round Table in the faux Turpin, when they actually exist in the "Faits et gestes de Karle le Grand" written by a monk of St. Gall in 884. (E.L.A., p.33). Wace has, moreover, in the "roman du Rou" told the history of the fairies of the "foret de Bréchéliant" in Brittany. Though Wace himself wrote about the fairies, he failed to find them when he visited the forest. The author of the Essai fared differently he tells us. An Anglo-Saxon, whose name we do not know, continued the Brut d'Angleterre, which includes "un ingénieux épisode" related by Chateaubriand (E.L.A., pp.33-34). As is evident, there is practically no criticism of this period. Chateaubriand has simply stated so many facts, chiefly lists of names of authors and of their works with occasional quotations.

Passing over the intervening material, we turn to Chaucer's time. Gower, whose name is written as Bower,

Chaucer's predecessor by several years, wrote in English as well as in French and "réussissait beaucoup mieux en français qu'en anglais". (E.L.A., p.45, Cf De la Rue, III, p.271). Froissart, we are told, "n'a rien qui puisse se comparer pour l'élégance et la grâce à cette ballade: Amour est chose merveilleuse" by Gower. The ballad which appeared in De la Rue (III, pp.272-3) is quoted in part by Chateaubriand. In it are evident the polish and finish of the Old French language, which characteristics the English language of the same period does not possess to such a high degree. Chaucer's eventful life is dismissed in one sentence, which includes also a statement as to the source of his inspiration. "Courtisan, Lancastrien, Wiclefiste, infidèle à ses convictions, traître à son parti tantôt banni, tantôt voyageur, tantôt en disgrâce Chaucer avait rencontré Pétrarque à Padoue; au lieu de remonter aux sources saxonnes, il emprunta le goût de ses chants aux troubadours provençaux et à l'amant de Laure, et le caractère de ses contes, à Bocace". Though Chaucer's whole first period of literary activity was strongly influenced by French literature and especially by the Roman de la Rose, Chateaubriand mentions no more than the brief

"il emprunta le goût de ses chants aux troubadours provençaux". Chateaubriand gives us the content of the Court of Love. Tyrwhitt, whom Chateaubriand knew, had attributed this poem to Chaucer; it has since, however been proved spurious. (Cf Skeat: Supplement to Chaucer's works, pp.LXXII - LXXIV). The Ploughman, which Chateaubriand considers as the work of Chaucer, he says, "a de la verve" (^{E.L.A}p.46). He gives a résumé of it and quotes two stanzas. "The Ploughman's Tale", which Chateaubriand designates in this fashion, is absent from all the manuscripts of Chaucer's works; "and it does not appear that the ascription of it to him was taken seriously", says Skeat. (Chaucer: Works: Supplement, pp.XXXII-XXXIII). The Canterbury Tales were written "à son château de Dunnington sous la chène de Chaucer dans la forme du Décameron". (E.L.A.,p.46). Thus does Chateaubriand dismiss this work on which the fame of the English poet rests. The poem on liberty by Barbour, a contemporary of Chaucer, is said to contain "un sentiment immortel" which has communicated to the language "une immortelle jeunesse". "Le style, et les mots n'ont presque point vieilli". (p.47). To prove this Chateaubriand quotes a stanza and then translates it. In the earlier period Old French was more

polished than English. Now the tables are turned at least as far as dignity goes, for "Nos poètes en France, étaient loin alors de la dignité de ce langage que Dante avait fait connaître à l'Italie". (E.L.A., p.47.).

The ballads, which we shall discuss next, are simple without being "naïve". "La simplicité vient du coeur" (p.54). The two most famous are the "Children in the Wood" and the "Song of the Willow", both of which Chateaubriand may have found in Percy's Reliques. The last mentioned ballad has been used by Shakespeare, who has changed it. Robin Hood is the subject of many ballads, which are like the "complaintes latines de la Jacquerie" or the "confessions de potence que le peuple répétait dans nos rues". (E.L.A., pp.54-5). Lady Anne Bothwell, another of these ballads, "est le Dors, mon enfant de Berquin; le Friar est l'aventure du père Arsène qui vient du Comte de Cominges". (p.55). In one sentence Chateaubriand sums up the content of "une très belle ballade" - Hunting in Chevy Chase. On the two most unusual ballads he dwells at greater length. It is not necessary to know English to feel the rhythm of these for "la mesure tombe aussi marquée que celle d'une walse", (p.55). After making his readers acquainted with the form, he says

that the language is not "tout à fait du temps où elles furent composés; le style en paraît rajeuni", (p.55).

The story of Sir Cauline, one of these unusual ballads, is told and then the author proceeds to the other - Childe-Waters. The word Childe is frequently used, he says, by the old English poets as a kind of title (E.L.A., p.56).

(Cf Percy: Reliques, 3:54). In this ballad, life is pictured "dans ce qu'elle a d'intime et de pathétique".

E.L.A.
(p.56). Chateaubriand compares this ballad to Homer in the word for word repetitions which one character makes of another's speech. A long passage from Childe-Waters is cited here in the French and the remainder of the story is told by Chateaubriand. To this admirer of Byron suddenly comes the thought that there may be some resemblance between Childe-Harold and this ballad. He, therefore, puts his thought in the form of a question and asks it here. The idea of this ballad may possibly have been suggested by the tenth "nouvelle" of the Décameron. The only difference is "la différence de la nature humaine anglaise et de la nature humaine italienne". This first part of the Essai terminates with a general statement that the early English literature is spoken rather than written and has therefore the advantages and disadvantages of improvi-

sation. The poetry is simple and incorrect and the history is curious, but limited to individual experience. (E.L.A. (p.61)). Of this whole first period there is very little real criticism. It is done in text-book fashion - hurriedly, inexactly, and with much information taken from secondary sources.

The second part of the Essai is included under the title "Littérature sous les Tudors" and consists in the main of a study of the Reformation and of Shakespeare. Before proceeding to the latter I might mention here earlier criticism of this author, which is found in an article on Shakespeare of April, 1801. Even before this, in 1800, in an article on England, Chateaubriand has stated the English estimate of Shakespeare at that time. "Shakespeare seul conserve son empire". To explain Shakespeare's continued popularity, he tells of his experience with a sailor at Covent-Garden, who mistook the theater for a garden, and says that Shakespeare would be popular only among such people. (Voyages et Mélanges littéraires, p.332). He concludes that "Un peuple qui a toujours été à peu près barbare dans les arts peut continuer à admirer des productions barbares. (Ibid. p.333). Another explanation is given of Shakespeare's celebrity in the article on Young of March, 1801.

"Quelques situations tragiques, quelques mots sortis des entrailles de l'homme, je ne sais quoi de vague et de fantastique dans les scènes, des bois, des bruyères, des vents, des spectres, des tempêtes, expliquent la célébrité de Shakespeare." (Voyages et Mélanges littéraires: "Young", p.335). At the beginning of his article on Shakespeare, Chateaubriand repeats for us the opinions both favorable and unfavorable of earlier critics both French and English, beginning with Voltaire. (Cf also E.L.A. p.102 ff.). He concludes with such a statement as this: "Je ne citerai point les opinions de." and gives us a list of names. (Ibid. p.348). In the course of these criticisms, we find Chateaubriand agreeing with La Harpe who "présenta dans tout leur jour les grossières irrégularités de Shakespeare et vengea la scène française" (Ibid. p.346). Again, speaking in a similar vein he says: "On ne se délasse au théâtre anglais des monstruosités de Shakespeare que par les horreurs d'Otway." (Voyages et Mélanges littéraires, p.348). With this he strikes the key-note of his early criticism of Shakespeare much of which is unfavorable.

Turning to his study of Shakespeare, he announces three points of view. From the first, the relation of

Shakespeare to his age - "on ne peut jamais trop admirer Shakespeare" (p.348) Chateaubriand finds Shakespeare perhaps superior to Lope de Vega and incomparable as far as Garnier and Hardy are concerned. It is true that some of the classical dramas had been translated into English at the time of Shakespeare. Yet do we not find him borrowing from them, but rather from English imitations of the original Latin or Greek play. This is true of Romeo and Juliet and of Hamlet. (Cf. E.L.A. p.108-109). Shakespeare's failure to consult the original plays is probably due to his lack of education. A comparison with Molière closes this first part. Both were compelled to take to ^{the} stage for the purpose of earning a living. "L'un a retrouvé l'art dramatique, l'autre l'a porté à sa perfection; semblables à deux philosophes anciens, ils s'étaient partagé l'empire des ris et des larmes, et tous les deux se consolaient peut-être des injustices de la fortune, l'un en peignant les travers, et l'autre les douleurs des hommes". (Cf. also E.L.A., p.108).

As far as his native talent, or his "génie" is concerned, Shakespeare "n'est pas moins prodigieux". Chateaubriand doubts whether a man has ever had deeper insight into human nature (Cf. also E.L.A., p.114). This is the proper point of view from which to regard individual

scenes from Shakespeare's plays and not that of dramatic art. The poet's admirers have chosen the last criterion and have erred, since the "non erat hic locus se présente à toutes les pages". (Voyages et mélanges littéraires, p.350). Basing his judgment on the correct principle, Chateaubriand declares that the third scene of the fourth act of Macbeth, here quoted in French, is full of truth and "énergie" in its description of the misfortunes of Scotland. This portrait is comparable, according to him, to another of Athens in Xenophon's History of Greece, which is cited ^{Voyages.} (p.351). The conversation between ^{Ross and Macduff recalls that between} Flavian and Curiace when Flavian announces to Curiace the choice of champions. A part of this scene, too, is quoted in the Essai (p.351). "Les interrogations de Macduff et de Curiace sont des beautés du même ordre.... Mais le mot de Shakespeare, 'Il n'a point d'enfants!' reste sans parallèle!" (p.352). Chateaubriand's criticism of this scene ceases at that point; he does not explain to his reader in what particular the unparalleled beauty consists. The scene of the parting in Romeo and Juliet follows in the Essai, with a few lines in English and the remainder in French. Chateaubriand thinks that the contrast between the "charmes du matin et les derniers plaisirs

des deux jeunes époux" and the horrible catastrophe is exceedingly touching. It is more "naïf" than the Greeks and less pastoral than the Aminte and the Pastor fido. In the freshness of its images Chateaubriand compares it to a scene from the Sacontala which he quotes. This scene is however, original with Shakespeare. The above mentioned contrast leads Chateaubriand to speak of the English writer's abundant use of this device. He furnishes a striking example from Romeo and Juliet, namely; the arrival of the musicians, engaged for the marriage of Juliet, at the time of her funeral. Two quotations from Greek tragedies show that the ancients, too, made use of the same device.

Shakespeare moreover, "comme tous poètes tragiques, a trouvé quelquefois le véritable comique, tandis que les poètes comiques n'ont jamais pu s'élever à la bonne tragédie." (p.355. Cf also E.L.A. p.109). In explaining this proposition Chateaubriand decides that Molière is a possible exception in his Tartufe and Misanthrope. The character of Falstaff, much admired by the English, is well depicted but often "d'un comique peu naturel, bas et outré." A short digression on the two kinds of ridicule follows and

then Chateaubriand continues with the question of "le naturel de son style". He concedes naturalness of sentiment and thought but will not admit it of expression "excepté dans les belles scènes où son génie s'élève à sa plus grande hauteur". But even there his language is often affected, since he has all the faults of his Italian contemporaries. "Ses descriptions sont enflées, contournées; on y sent souvent l'homme de mauvaise éducation, qui, ne connaissant ni les genres, ni les tons, ni les sujets, ni la valeur exacte des mots, va plaçant au hasard des expressions poétiques au milieu des choses les plus triviales." (p.355-6). The portrayal of the apothecary in Romeo and Juliet, "le burlesque le plus hideux et le plus dégoûtant", is brightened by a happy reflection on the part of Romeo, which Chateaubriand has compared to a similar expression of feeling on the part of Achilles in Homer.

With the discussion of Shakespeare's dramatic art, Chateaubriand returns to the adversely critical attitude of 1800. All favorable comment of Shakespeare as a dramatic author is contained in Johnson's criticism, which Chateaubriand translates. "Tout ce raisonnement tend à prouver qu'il n'y a point de règles dramatiques, ou que

l'art n'est pas un art". Given no rules, "rien n'était plus aisé que d'égaliser les chefs-d'oeuvre du théâtre anglais". (p.356). Writing is an art of which there are several kinds, each of which carries with it certain rules based on nature. According to this reasoning, Racine "dans toute l'excellence de son art, est plus naturel que Shakespeare" (p.357. Cf also E.L.A., p.111). Shakespeare has broken all rules, confused all genres, and "blessé toutes les vraisemblances" but critics admit that he put action on the stage and that he developed terror more fully than the French tragedians. Chateaubriand's reply to this touches the French writers of tragedy, who need not introduce on the French stage "les monstruosités de cet homme." "Une beauté dans Shakespeare n'excuse pas ses innombrables défauts" (p.357). The assertion that Shakespeare is a great master in the art of "faire verser des larmes" is not considered of much worth by Chateaubriand, since he does not know "s'il est vrai que le premier des arts soit celui de faire pleurer." Chateaubriand recalls a situation in Sophocles which causes him to conclude his article with a digression on the subject of the Quarrel.

Our critic finds Shakespeare comparing favorably with his contemporaries and even with Molière. His "génie"

consists in his remarkable insight into human nature. A scene from Macbeth and another from Romeo and Juliet exemplify this natural talent. In the last play Shakespeare's effective use of contrast is disclosed. Of Shakespeare's dramatic art Chateaubriand has little to say that is favorable, since he applies to him the rules of French classic theatre. On the other hand, he has brought to the stage action and an increase of the element of terror. He has, too, the faculty of dubious merit of producing tears. Occasionally he attains real comedy, though not in Falstaff, as the English believe. Naturalness of style and expression is absolutely unknown to Shakespeare. The greater number of these comments is unfavorable. The criticism proper is padded with digressions and comparisons to the ancients and to 18th century French writers, of whom Chateaubriand seems to know more than of Shakespeare.

In the Génie there is but one sentence dealing with Shakespeare. "Shakespeare, Richardson, Goldsmith ont mis le prêtre en scène avec plus ou moins de bonheur". (Génie, 2^e part., l. 2, ch. 9, p.196). The Défense contains one line from the Tempest "'The clouds-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,'" (Défense du Génie, XXII and Note 4). Writing in London in 1822 of the time of his earlier sojourn

in England as an "émigré", Chateaubriand says (M.d'O.-T. II, p.189) "Toutefois, de grandes figures demeuraient. On retrouvait partout Milton et Shakespeare." Did the French ambassadors to England under Elizabeth and James I ever hear "un baladin acteur dans ses propres farces et dans celles des autres?" (M.d'O.-T., II, p.189 and E.L.A. p.98). Again a comparison is made of Shakespeare the bateleur to Molière the "histrion" (Ibid). Some account of the Englishman's love affairs is inserted here. "Il est un grand fantôme l'ombre du moyen âge qui se levait sur le monde comme l'astre de la nuit" at a moment when the Middle Ages were coming to a close (Cf M.d'O.-T. II, p.189 and E.L.A. p.98). Milton's criticism of the poet is quoted by Chateaubriand here as well as in the E.L.A. Shakespeare like Byron was "lame by fortune's dearest spite" (M.d'O.-T. II, p.190) An abrége of sonnet LXXI is found here in the Mémoires. "Appuyé sur ces fronts tragiques (of Henry VIII and Charles I) le grand tragique s'enfonça dans la tombe; il remplit l'intervalle des jours où il vécut, de ses spectres, de ses rois aveugles, de ses ambitieux punis, de ses femmes infortunées, afin de joindre par des fictions analogues les réalités du passé aux réalités de l'avenir." (M.d'O.-T. II, p.192 and E.L.A. p.129). He is one of five or six great geniuses in the

world. Chateaubriand repeats his declaration of 1800, "... England is all Shakespeare, and adds "Il a ~~prêt~~ sa langue à Byron, son dialogue à Walter Scott" (M.d'O.-T. II,p.192). In the Mémoires of September 1833 (M.d'O.-T. VI,p.114-115) there are two quotations from A Winter's Tale. The same year Chateaubriand writes (Ibid. p.228) "mais, o puissance du génie! aucun voyageur n'entendra jamais chanter l'alouette dans les champs de Vérone sans se rappeler Shakespeare," and a little later he quotes from Othello. (Ibid. p.267). In the interim between the early article on Shakespeare and the later treatment in the E.L.A. we find a considerable amount of quotation, some statement as to Shakespeare's popularity and some favorable comments on his genius and influence.

From this study of Chateaubriand's early opinion of Shakespeare, we can readily see a reason for Chateaubriand's saying: "j'avais à faire amende honorable d'une partie de mes jugements sur Shakespeare et Dante" (E.L.A. pp.155-6). In "Que j'ai mal jugé Shakespeare autrefois", he explains that he had applied the principles of the classicists to Shakespeare and so had failed to observe the ensemble. (E.L.A.,p.100). He had also followed the classic school "qui ne mêlait pas la vie des auteurs à

leurs ouvrages" and thus deprived themselves of a powerful means of appreciation. He deplores the present false admirers of Shakespeare who are roused to enthusiasm by his faults. (^{E.L.A.}p.101).

Chateaubriand repeats Voltaire's two criticisms of Shakespeare and ^{out that} points ^{out that} his later, adverse criticism is *now* of no avail, so great is the vogue of the English tragedian. "Irons-nous plus loin dans notre engouement que nos voisins eux-mêmes?" says Chateaubriand, for even they are not admirers without reservation. In discussing Shakespeare's genius, Chateaubriand adds to what he has already said on the subject an idea as to Shakespeare's learning. (p.158). Samuel Johnson and the English in general feel that Shakespeare "était plutôt doué du génie comique que du génie tragique". (p.109). Chateaubriand confesses that the French do not understand Falstaff but they can appreciate Desdemona, since there is only one way of crying. Shakespeare is endowed with "la puissance créatrice". (p.110). His "génie" has been compared to the equestrian statue of Philip IV and to Notre-Dame de Paris. "Le caractère dominant du fondateur du théâtre anglais, se forme de la nationalité, de l'éloquence, des observations, des pensées, des maximes tirées de la connaissance du coeur humain, et applicables aux diverses conditions de l'homme; il se forme surtout de l'abondance de la vie." (E.L.A. p.110).

After developing the notes suggested in the Mélanges littéraires about the relation of Shakespeare to his age, Chateaubriand concludes that "le génie même de son temps..soufflait à Shakespeare son génie". (E.L.A. p.128). As for the subjects, though he is a "peintre de tant de noirs tableaux" (p.132), universality characterizes them. "Il met en mouvement la société entière, ainsi qu'il déroule en entier la vie d'un homme". (E.L.A.,p.111) "Cette universalité de Shakespeare a, par l'autorité de l'exemple et l'abus de l'imitation servi à corrompre l'art; elle a fondé l'erreur sur laquelle s'est malheureusement établie la nouvelle école dramatique". (E.L.A.p.111).

The best of Shakespeare's works include Macbeth, Richard III, Romeo and Juliet, Othello, Julius Caesar and Hamlet (p.113). The quotations from Macbeth and Romeo and Juliet are the same found in the earlier article, as are also the comments. The scene of the three queens from Richard III is deemed one of the strongest on the stage. "C'est là du tragique, et du tragique au plus haut degré" (p.114). Hamlet, a tragedy of mad people, is called a "Bedlam royal;" "un odéon des ombres" (p.108). Probably because he does not esteem any too highly the famous monologue, Chateaubriand quotes here in French Gertrude's account of Ophelia's death. In addition, Chateau-

briand cites a scene from A Winter's Tale and from Othello. Chateaubriand is interested in the character of Shakespeare's women, who all have "une idéalité ravissante". (p.117). ^{E.L.A.} "Rapprochez lady Macbeth et Marguerite de Desdémone, d'Ophélie, de Miranda, de Cordélia, de Jessica, de Perdita, d'Imogène et vous serez émerveillés de la souplesse du talent du poète." (Ibid.) And yet, he says there is only one type. They are all so young that they are almost children; "elles ont le même sourire, le même regard, le même son de voix; si l'on effaçait leurs noms, ou si l'on fermait les yeux, on ne saurait laquelle d'entre elles a parlé." (p.120). With this statement I do not agree, neither does Chateaubriand just above. Compare Lady Macbeth and Ophelia. Surely they could not be confused. Chateaubriand excuses Shakespeare for the fault of which he accuses him, since he did not always have time to paint the sketches he had first made. (p.120). "Les ombres ossianiques" can not be compared to the women of the French or Greek tragedies who uphold "à elles seules le poids d'une tragédie". (p.120-1). Perhaps Chateaubriand forgot Lady Macbeth. More explicitly: "Que sont enfin toutes les filles de Shakespeare auprès d'Esther?" (E.L.A.p.122).

Chateaubriand has reversed his opinion on the style of Shakespeare also. His dialogue is now considered simple and natural. "Quelle franchise! quel contraste comme dans la vie! quel rapprochement de tous les langages, de toutes les sciences, de tous les rangs de la société." (E.L.A. p.101). At times, however, dignity is lacking in his style (p.105). The language of his time is "une espèce de barbarie maniérée, grotesquement attifée, surchargée de modes étrangères". (p.105). Chateaubriand's impression of the whole of Shakespeare's work is less favorable. "Mais enfin pleine et entière justice étant rendue à des suavités de pinceau et d'harmonie, je dois dire que les ouvrages de l'ère romantique gagnent beaucoup à être cités par extraits". (E.L.A. p.120). Here, too, Chateaubriand gives us some idea of Shakespeare's sonnets, which he mentioned only in passing before this time. "Des jeux d'esprit gâtent ces effusions érotiques, mais leur harmonie avait fait surnommer l'auteur le poète à la langue de miel". (E.L.A. p.135). Those which he cites have "plus de poésie, d'imagination, de mélancolie que de sensibilité, de passion et de profondeur. Shakespeare aime, mais il ne croit pas plus à l'amour qu'il ne croyait à autre chose." (p.137) Other critics would have us believe, on the contrary, that the sonnets express "every

phase of the emotion of love". If this is true they must also be characterized by "sensibilité, passion and profondeur". As we have seen there is still more evidence for Chateaubriand's statement in the preface about his use in this Essai of material already published. The study just discussed is far more extensive than the previous one. We feel that Chateaubriand has acquired a far better understanding of Shakespeare, though it is still far from full, and a real appreciation of his position in English literature.

After 1836 there is only occasional mention of Shakespeare in the M.d'O.-T. In Carrel's account of the suicide of M. Sautelet

"To die, to sleep
To sleep! perchance to dream!"

is quoted. (VI,p.397). In 1839 Shakespeare and Milton are still the outstanding characters in English literature for Chateaubriand, for he says that he might have stayed in the home of these two great men, had he not been married. (M.d'O.-T.IV,p.209). He recalls the witches of Macbeth, when he speaks of his halt outside of Ecluse and his wait for the gates to open (M.d'O.-T.II,p.484). A letter from Napoleon is said to mingle tragedy and comedy just as do Shakespeare's plays. (M.d'O.-T.III,p.228). Finally,

speaking of his own "mémoires", he says "ils peignent l'humanité complète en exposant comme les tragédies de Shakespeare les scènes basses et hautes". (M.d'O.-T. IV,p.1-2).

Chateaubriand has indeed made amends for his earlier severe and unjust criticisms of Shakespeare, which were made under the influence of preceding adverse critics and because of an imperfect knowledge of the great English master. In 1836 Chateaubriand seems to realize the special wonder of Shakespeare's characters, to each of whom a large amount of individuality is given. He does not yet, however, grasp the fact that Chateaubriand was master of the English language. Perhaps this is too much to expect of a person who himself had a none too perfect understanding of this foreign language. With the exception of a mere mention of Falstaff, Chateaubriand only deals with the tragedies and one historical tragedy of the "Aeschyle britannique". (E.L.A.,p.104). He admits that "nous autres Français nous avons de la peine à sentir le vis comica de Falstaff". (Ibid.p.109). If this failure to understand applies to all of Shakespeare's comedies, as we are inclined to believe, we know why it is that his criticisms omit this side of Shakespeare's genius which is equally as

great as the other. Chateaubriand is aware, we gather from his comments, of Shakespeare's universality but does not realize that it applies to the women characters as well as to the men. His ~~pro~~traiture of various types of women is one of the wonders of his genius.

Ducis in the last half of the 18th century had translated and adapted Shakespeare's plays to the French stage in accordance with the prevalent ideas of taste. The Revolution made no changes in these ideas. "Shakespeare, who puts low people on the stage, continued to inspire a feeling of disgust" (Jusserand: Shakespeare in France under the Ancien Régime, Chap. I, p. 441). Chateaubriand, as we have seen, followed this tendency in his early criticism. In 1822, Shakespeare was played in English in France and hissed off the stage.¹ A second attempt in 1827-8 to put Shakespeare on the French stage in the English language proved successful. Victor Hugo, the mouthpiece of the Romantic school, was heartily in favor of Shakespeare. Chateaubriand therefore, followed the Romantic tide in his change of opinion from 1800-1836. We may apply to the latter date the judgement made by M. Jusserand. "To believe that Shakespeare has become

¹ Another proof of the renewed interest in Shakespeare is Stendhal's book entitled Racine et Shakespeare, Etudes sur le romantisme, Paris, Calmann-Lévy.

acclimatized in France, that his genius has penetrated and transformed the French mind, is an error, He is known, the beauty and grandeur of his poetry is felt..." (Jusserand: p.466). The French, including Chateaubriand, therefore understand as much as they can of the foreign 'génie.' On the whole Chateaubriand's appreciation of Shakespeare was that of the average cultured Frenchman of his day.

Milton who is the next person of importance in the Essai, occupying about four-fifths of the space allotted to "Littérature sous les deux premiers Stuarts et pendant la république" has already been discussed. Butler whom we have chosen as a representative of "Littérature sous les deux derniers Stuarts" is the author of Hudibras, the "Don Quichotte politique". "Cette satire pleine de verve contre les personnages de la révolution charmaient une cour où se montraient la débauche de Rochester et la grâce de Grammont." (E.L.A., p.249). The subject is not as happy a one as that of the satire Ménippée of 1594. The author is remarkably endowed with the power of observation which would have enabled him to write a history of Charles I, had he been born during the reign of Anne (p.249). These brief comments on the political writings of Butler

carry the author into the field of politics in England--a favorite topic with him.

"Littérature sous la maison d' Hanovre" focuses our attention on the English Romanticists. As Chateaubriand is rightly called the father of the French Romantic movement, it is important that we study his criticisms of the English followers of this movement. Gray and Young, poets of the transition period in English literature were known to Chateaubriand before his exile. Gray's Elegy, translated as early as 1765 by the Gazette littéraire, was widely known in France in the 18th century. Parts of the Elegy are translated and quoted by Chateaubriand together with the Ode on^a Distant View of Eton at intervals from 1800 to 1836. (Cf. M.d'O.-T. II, p.218-219 and V, p.20). In his article on Young, March 1801, we find this statement: "Gray, dans son ode sur une vue lointaine du collège d'Eton, a répandu cette même douceur de souvenirs;" (Voyages et Mélanges littéraires, p.341). A year later he speaks of another ode by the same author only to show that there is in it no recollection of Ossian. (Génie, p.XXXVI). "En exceptant Gray et Hervey, je ne connais, parmi les écrivains protestants, que M. Necker qui ait répandu quelque tendresse sur les sentiments

tirés de la religion". (Voyages et mélanges littéraires, p.342).

In the Essai, there is continued quotation, and citation of the critic's own imitation of Gray, also more extended criticism. "Gray a trouvé sur la lyre une série d'accords et d'inspirations inconnus de l'antiquité." (E.L.A., p.272). This English poet has made use of Dante, if we are to believe Chateaubriand's statement: "Le premier vers de la célèbre élégie de Gray est une traduction presque littérale du dernier vers de ces délicieux tercets du Dante. 'Era già l'ora che volge 'l desio.....'" (E.L.A., p.272). Gray is the initiator of a school of melancholy poets, "qui s'est transformée de nos jours dans l'école des poètes désespérés". (p.272). The Elegy has had countless imitators. "Qui ne l'a pas imité?" says Chateaubriand (p.272). This poem proves that "un écrivain peut rêver sans cesser d'être noble et naturel, sans mépriser l'harmonie". (E.L.A., p.273). As is evident from the frequency of quotation the Ode on a Distant View of Eton is as much liked by Chateaubriand as the Elegy. Parts of the Ode he considers equal to the Elegy (p.273). One reason for his appreciation of the Ode may be found in this question. "Qui n'a éprouvé les sentiments et les regrets exprimés ici avec toute la douceur de la Muse?"

(E.L.A., p.274). "Ou sont la gentil hommerie, l'histoire et la chimie de Gray? Il ne vit que dans un sourire mélancolique de ces Muses qu'il méprisait". (E.L.A., p.274). This prevailing sentiment of Gray's works has struck a similar chord in Chateaubriand's nature and has therefore made a lasting impression on him.

A letter to the ~~editors~~ of the Mercur de France (Correspondance Générale, I, p.31) announces Chateaubriand's intention to begin his series of articles on things English with one on Young's Nights. In this we learn that Young's reputation is largely due to the "beau tableau que présente l'ouverture de ses Nuits ou Complaintes". (Voyages et mélanges littéraires, p.335; Cf E.L.A., p.269). This picture makes an instantaneous as well as lasting impression. His lack of naturalness is expressed by Chateaubriand in these words. "Vous voyez un homme qui tourmente son esprit dans tous les sens pour enfanter des idées tendres et tristes, et qui n'arrive qu'à une philosophie morose." (Voyages et mélanges littéraires, "Young", p.336 and E.L.A., pp.269-70). This lack is noticeable in his "sensibilité" and in his grief. "C'est toujours une main pesante qui se traîne sur la lyre". (Voyages et mélanges littéraires, p.336). In Young "le sentiment se change en réflexion et en rai-

sonnement." (p.336). Since he strives with great effort for his effect, it is evident that his memories of misfortune lack the conviction of truth. (Voyages et mélanges littéraires, p.341 and Cf E.L.A., p.271). In this connection Chateaubriand points out that "le chantre des tombeaux n'a de ces retours attendrissants vers le premier âge de la vie, alors que tout est innocence et bonheur. (Ibid., p.340). But how can Young write anything more natural, more true and more convincing, when his very "génie" lacks "éminemment", says Chateaubriand, "de tendresse". (Ibid., p.340 Cf. E.L.A. p.271). After lining up these points Chateaubriand concludes: Young "n'est point l'homme de la douleur; il ne plaît point aux coeurs véritablement malheureux". (Ibid. p.344).

Young has failed moreover, in his desire to make his nature scenes heighten the effect of his laments. (Ibid. p.336 and Cf E.L.A. p.270). "Il apostrophe la lune, il parle à la nuit et aux étoiles, et l'on ne se sent point ému." (Ibid. p.336 and Cf E.L.A., p.270). A quotation and translation of a passage of Les nuits follows, after which Chateaubriand concludes, "Young a donc premièrement ignoré, ou plutôt mal exprimé, cette tristesse, qui se nourrit du spectacle de la nature." (Ibid. p.338). The final aspect

was unusual for Chateaubriand to say in 1822 that Scott had created a false genre; "il a selon moi" says our critic, "perverti le roman et l'histoire, le romancier s'est mis à faire des romans historiques, et l'historien des histoires romanesques." (M.d'O.-T. II, p.197. Cf also E.L.A., p.297). He is not aloneⁱⁿ having such an opinion of Scott; for Mme de Genlis and Jouy, who both aspired to the historical novel, also protested feebly against the pro-Scott current. And yet it is curious that Chateaubriand should make such a statement since the same accusation has been brought against him, himself. "Chateaubriand tissait, pour la première fois, et définitivement, la toile de fond du roman historique, s'il est vrai, comme le veut une spirituelle définition, que le roman historique ne soit que l'art de faire mouvoir des personnages faux dans un décor à peu près exact'". (Maigron, Le Roman Historique à l'époque romantique, p.66). This he has done in Les Martyrs. Maigron continues, "....pour la première fois, la description pittoresque était appliquée aux choses anciennes pour les reconstituer dans leur frappante réalité et les faire revivre. ...ce sixième livre [Les Martyrs]...incomparable de pittoresque: (il) ne l'est moins d'intelligence, de pénétration et de fidélité historiques." (Maigron, Le Roman Historique

under which Chateaubriand discusses Young is in his relation to poets who have written on similar subjects. "Hervey, dans ses Méditations, quoique d'un génie moins élevé que l'auteur des Nuits, a quelquefois montré une sensibilité plus douce et plus vraie." (Voyages et mélanges littéraires, p.338). Not only does this English poet surpass Young but so does also Rousseau for "La page la plus rêveuse d'Young ne peut être comparée à ce passage de Rousseau" (Ibid. pp.339-40 and E.L.A. p.270). The "souvenirs du malheur" of Young, moreover, "n'ont rien de ces accents de Gilbert, expirant à la fleur de l'âge, dans un hôpital et abandonné de ses amis." (Ibid. and E.L.A. p.271). In the Essai, the section devoted to Young begins with a sentence to the effect that Young was not a good master and that he has started a bad school (E.L.A., p.269). Practically all of the earlier criticisms, as indicated, are then repeated. To the comparisons made of Young to other poets one is added by the E.L.A. "Ceux de nos bons écrivains qui ont connu le charme de la rêverie ont surpassé le docteur anglais; Chaulieu a mêlé comme Horace, les pensées de la mort aux illusions de la vie." (E.L.A., p.270). Young declaims against solitude and "pleure sur les cendres de Narcissa sans attendrir le lecteur". (p.272). Pichot in his

Voyages (II, p. 272-3) had expressed the same sentiment before this time - "Young, hyperbolique et forcé, n'inspirant guère de sympathie, parce qu'il est trop théâtral dans ses plaintes comme dans ses déclamations;" This sentence practically resumes Chateaubriand's whole criticism of Young.

In those works of Chateaubriand which I have studied there appear only four comments on Thomson. In the Mélanges littéraires (p. 340-41) a portion of his Seasons is quoted. The Génie cites Thomson's poems as examples of poetry descriptive of woods and deserts. (p. 617, Note 16). L'Hiver is considered his best poem and even that has "des détails d'une mortelle longueur" (Génie, 2^e part., l. 4, ch. 3, p. 244). Thomson enters the Essai by way of comparison to Gray. "Thomson a exprimé, comme ^{Gray} Young, mais d'une autre manière, ses regrets des jours de l'enfance. Welcome, kindred glooms!....." (E.L.A. p. 274).

As early as 1819 Patin in the Lycée français spoke of the novels of Scott, the next author considered in the Essai, as "véritables romans historiques" (Maigron, Le Roman Historique à l'époque romantique, p. 103). From 1820 to 1830 there existed in France a decided rage for Scott's works; and all French comment was favorable. So it

à l'époque romantique , p.66). . In Scott's works, Chateaubriand continues, (In M.d'O.-T., p.197 and E.L.A., p.297) interminable conversations are to be found. One of his great merits lies in ^{the fact} that he can be put into the hands of everyone. He is also credited by Chateaubriand with starting the vogue of the Middle Ages. "Cette nature choisie, cette perfection de scènes, cette originalité, ces pensées, ces traits que je trouve dans Manzoni et dans plusieurs de nos romanciers modernes" (E.L.A., p.297) are not evident to Chateaubriand in Scott. To him Scott's merit is not so great as it is to the English. "Il ne moule pas comme Richardson sur le type intérieur de l'homme; il reproduit de préférence l'extérieur du personnage." (E.L.A., p.298). Maigron makes this a special talent of Chateaubriand. "Insuffisances d'analyse singulières habileté et sûreté non moins singulières à décrire l'extérieur et à faire ainsi comprendre, à force d'exactitude, l'âme même des personnes ou des choses décrites, c'est tout le talent de Chateaubriand". (Maigron, Le Roman Historique à l'époque romantique p.61). The Essai account closes with commendation of Scott's "fantaisies", of which the picture of Rebecca in Ivanhoe is taken for an example. Mézières: Histoire critique de la littérature anglaise, had already analyzed some ten

works of Scott, including Ivanhoe. But Mézières was interested in the contrast of the characters of Rebecca and the pale Rowena. (E.L.A.p.298).

All other comment on Scott, which is probably of a later date, is found in the Mémoires. In view of Chateaubriand's statements about Scott as ^{the} originator of a "faux genre", it is curious to note that all this final criticism deals with the Vie de Napoléon. In it is included an account of the Syrian massacres (M.d'O.-T. III, p.148). Scott has shown himself "de la plus grande impartialité; il défend Napoléon comme il aurait défendu Alexandre contre les reproches dont on peut charger sa mémoire". (M.d'O.-T. III, p.164). Reason dominates his work. His critics have therefore been decidedly mistaken in accusing "l'illustre Ecossais de prévention contre un grand homme". (M.d'O.-T., III, p.164). Nevertheless this work has been unsuccessful because, with one or two exceptions, his imagination has failed him here. "Il est ébloui par les succès fabuleux qu'il décrit, et comme écrasé par le merveilleux de la gloire". (M.d'O.-T. III, p.165). The Life of Napoleon lacks the large view which the English rarely have in history. (M.d'O.-T. III, p.165). This biography is exact except for certain mistakes of chronology. (Ibid.). The part on the detention of Napoleon in St. Helena

is excellent. Chateaubriand quotes a few sentences to illustrate his points. "Après le récit de l'arrivée de Bonaparte à Fréjus, Scott, débarrassé des grandes scènes, retombe avec joie, dans son talent; il s'en va en bavardin, comme parle madame de Sévigné; il devise du passage de Napoléon à l'île d'Elbe...." (M.d'O.-T.III, p.437-8).

Chateaubriand, then, was sensible of the excellent sketches of Scott such as that of Rebecca and of his chatty style. In spite of his severe criticism of Scott as a writer of historical novels, he seems to have recognized Scott's "fascinated^a view of the past", one part of his two-fold Romanticism. On the other hand, "his ardent love for Scotland", his "intimate sympathy with Scotchmen" and his clever and faithful depiction of these characters - these facts escape Chateaubriand. Though the past which Chateaubriand depicts is farther removed from his century than were the Middle Ages for which Scott started the vogue, Chateaubriand has this love for the past in common with "l'illustre Ecossais".

As the English novel underwent a transformation which might have been traced to romanticism, so did also fish poetry. "Cowper abandonna l'école française pour faire revivre l'école nationale; Burns, en Ecosse, commença la même révolution". (p.299^{ELA}). Chateaubriand admires the energy

and grace of Burns' works and considers the Twae Dogs and the Cotter's Saturday Night especially fine. His Scots, who have with Wallace bled would lose its charm if it were translated. Burns had written a number of drinking-songs, some of which describe village scenes; yet "Toutes ces pièces pleines d'humour" n'ont pas la verve des refrains de Désaugiers". (p.305). Restorers of the ballads are Coleridge, Wordsworth, Southey, Wilson, Campbell, Thomas Moore, Crabbe, Morgan, Rogers, Sheil and Hogg. Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming together with Moore's Lalla Rookh and Rogers' Pleasures of the memory have obtained a great success. (Ibid.p.299). Chateaubriand doubts the possibility of rendering into French the melodies of the bard of Erin, which "charment l'esprit et l'oreille d'un Anglais, d'un Irlandais, d'un Ecossais". Thomas tells us that Campbell's Gertrude was analyzed in the Lycée français (1819 t.II,p.357). (Thomas: Moore en France, p.18).

A number of these poets belong to what is known as the Lake School, which took its name from the fact that its members lived in the vicinity of the Cumberland and Westmoreland lakes, and sometimes sang of these bodies of water. This brief dismissal of the Lake poets is in keeping with the "mépris foudroyant du grand Byron," (Smith: l'Influence des Lakistes sur les Romantiques Français, p.347)

the idol of all Europe and the most interesting of all English romantic writers to Chateaubriand. From 1827 to 1831 is, according to Smith, the period at which the "lakistes", thru the enthusiastic support of Pichot and ~~Stim~~Beuve especially, have some slight influence on Hugo and Lamartine. The other French romanticists had the same attitude that Chateaubriand had toward this school.

Bloomfield and Hogg are "muses du peuple"(p.^{ELA}300), of whom France had some representatives in Chateaubriand's time. Examples of the products of French "muses du peuple" are cited. The "chanson", as old in England as in France, has taken all its various forms (p.303). One-
The Seamen by lord Dorset - is a composition "d'une verve élégante" (p.303). A literal translation from Hennet: Poétique anglaise follows. "Le doctor Beattie, poète écossais.. a répandu dans son Minstrel la rêverie la plus aimable" (Voyages et mélanges littéraires, p.339). He it was who announced the new era of the lyre (M.d'O.-T.II, p.201). "Il a parcouru la série entière des rêveries et des idées mélancoliques, dont cent autres poètes se sont crus les discovers¹³¹⁰." (Ibid. p.202). The Minstrel is a "peinture des premiers effets de la Muse sur un jeune barde lequel ignore encore le génie dont il est tourmenté. Tantôt le poète futur va s'asseoir au bord de la mer pendant une

tempête; tantôt il quitte les jeux du village pour écouter à l'écart et dans le lointain le son des musettes; le poème est écrit en stances rimées comme les vieilles ballades." (Ibid.p.201). The idea of the second part of his Minstrel is a happy but not well executed one (Ibid.,p.202). The very same criticisms with a quotation appended are repeated in the Essai.

Byron, who imitates the Minstrel in his early verse, was much admired by Chateaubriand in 1822, when there were few admirers of this poet in France. He was in advance of "les écrivains indépendants", of 1823, "qui ne sont pas gênés par la contradiction de leurs opinions politiques ou religieuses, et de leurs penchants littéraires et qui réalisent dès lors l'union du romantisme: et des idées libérales"(Estève, Byron et le romantisme français, p.111). The character of Byron appealed to Chateaubriand as we may see from the detailed comparison, in his Mémoires and the Essai, of himself to this English poet. "Il avait été élevé sur les bruyères de l'Ecosse, au bord de la mer, comme moi dans les landes de la Bretagne, au bord de la mer." (E.L.A.,p.310). Both had liked the Bible and Ossian in their youth. Both sang the memories of their childhood. Two lines of Newstead Abbey in English and the remaining

parts in French are inserted. Chateaubriand recalls his numerous walks to Harrow during his exile. He had sat in the cemetery where Byron had written: "Spot of my youth!", which is also translated in part.

Not only were there these similarities in their youth, but their "fond d'idées" and destinies were about the same. Childe-Harold seems an embellished Itinéraire of Chateaubriand. Again quotations follow. Béranger, too, realised the kinship of the two writers. Since others are aware of this kinship and since Chateaubriand is famous, he wonders why it is that Lord Byron never named him or owned him. An explanation of ~~was~~ Lord Byron's attitude is attempted by Chateaubriand in an unedited fragment of the Mémoires, since published by Giraud. "lorsque Atala parut, je reçus une lettre de Cambridge signée G. Gordon, Lord Byron. Lord Byron âgé de quinze ans était un astre non levé." Chateaubriand at this moment found himself swamped with correspondence, much of which had to remain unanswered. He thinks he has answered the letter, but if he has not, we have a possible explanation of Byron's later absolute silence. (Giraud, Chateaubriand, Études littéraires, p.84-5) also E.L.A., p.315). "Lord Byron vivra, soit qu'enfant de son siècle comme moi,

il en ait exprimé comme moi...la passion et le malheur; soit que mes périples et le fétot de ma barque gauloise aient montré la route au vaisseau d'Albion sur des mers inexplorables". (p.315)^{E.L.A}. Chateaubriand continues the comparison by saying that the imitators of each one are poor.

Byron's life has been the subject of much abuse. "Le Byron des imaginations échauffées" was a "monstre". The poet accepted this role and played it. "Quant au caractère de son génie,...il est assez resserré. Sa pensée poétique et passionnée n'est qu'un gémissement, une plainte, une imprécation; en cette qualité, elle est admirable...." He is possessed of much and varied "esprit". He has in common with his fellow-countrymen an affection^{at} of originality and singularity (p.317). In comparing J. J. Rousseau to Byron, Chateaubriand says these two unhappy men "cherchaient de la rêverie, du malheur, des larmes, du désespoir, dans la solitude, les vents, les ténèbres, les tempêtes, les forêts, les mers, et venaient en composer pour leurs lecteurs, les tourments de Childe-Harold et de Saint-Preux, sur le sein de la Padoana, et del Can de la Madona." (p.318). Chateaubriand followed Byron to the Lido where he dreamed of the deceased English

poet. "Elevait-il la voix pour confier à la tourmente les inspirations de son génie? Est-ce au murmure de cette vague qu'il trouva ces accents mélancoliques?

'If my fame should be, as my fortunes are,
Of hasty growth and blight,' " (Ibid, p.319).

As early as 1822 (in the M.d'O.-T., II, p.212) Chateaubriand found these lines being fulfilled. His "génie" is better understood by the French than by his own country. "Comme Childe Harold excelle principalement à peindre les sentiments particuliers de l'individu, les Anglais, qui préfèrent les sentiments communs à tous, finiront par méconnaître le poète dont le cri est si profond et si triste. Qu'ils y prennent garde: s'ils brisent l'image de l'homme qui les a fait revivre, que leur restera-t-il?" (M.d'O.-T., II, p.212). "C'est le plus grand poète que l'Angleterre ait eu depuis Milton" - exceedingly high praise from so ardent an admirer of Milton. (M.d'O.-T., II, p.210) Lord Byron's Ode to Napoleon is quoted in part in the Mémoires (III, p.406). In this, Chateaubriand finds that Napoleon^{is} treated in a most unworthy fashion. Byron's opinion of Napoleon is quoted (I, IV, p.114 and IV, p.70). From Rome in 1828-9 Chateaubriand wrote (M.d'O.-T., V, p.52) "il jeta son imagination désolée sur tant de ruines, comme un manteau de deuil. Rome! tu avais un nom, il t'en donne un autre;

ce nom te restera, il t'appela 'la Niobe des nations...'"

At Geneva in 1830 Chateaubriand hears again of Byron.

(M.d'O.-T., V, p.440).

It is the character of Byron and the exquisite melody of his lyric verse that appealed to Chateaubriand as well as to the other writers of the Romantic school. From 1825 on, the satiric side of Byron's works began to come to the attention of the French people. Chateaubriand realized its existence but he, like his contemporaries before 1825, did not wish to see it. (Estève, p.198). His opinion does not change with that of the French people as a whole. On the contrary, in 1836 Chateaubriand retains his old admiration for Byron as a lyric poet, disregarding entirely the other part of his work, his "genuine voice".

CONCLUSION

We are now ready to give a general opinion of Chateaubriand's relation to English literature. He did not in his Essai reveal to France any "génie" as yet unknown to her. He was the first French writer of talent to undertake such a study as the Essai and therefore occupies a position in the historical development of this type of work in France. Though this work has worth in its historic importance, it has, on the other hand, many weaknesses, among which is its lack of proportion. This fault may be traced to the author's predilection for a certain number of poets, of whom Gray and Thompson were well-known and liked.

in France at this period. These influenced Chateaubriand in the same general way as they did his contemporaries. But infinitely more than his contemporaries, Chateaubriand ^{was} subject to the influence of Milton and Ossian.

In the 18th century the influence of Milton on French literature was slight, and, such as it was, was produced by Paradise Lost and to an almost negligible degree by Paradise Regained. "On ne s'attacha qu'à ses idées générales et à ses peintures, tantôt pour se les assimiler, tantôt pour les transformer", says Telleen (p.95-6). Chateaubriand was the first person (with the possible exception of Colardeau, who need not be considered since he can not be compared to Chateaubriand in influence) to transfer some of these general ideas of Milton to a subject and a work absolutely removed from a religious purpose - Les Natchez. He has not given them even the importance that they had in the few religious epics and works, all of minor importance, written in the 18th century, in imitation of Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained. In Les Natchez and Les Martyrs as we have seen, that which is the subject of Paradise Lost, the Christian "merveilleux", becomes merely the background. Roberts has said that

Milton taught Chateaubriand "particularly the art of localizing and defining the supernatural". (Modern Language Review, 1910, p.425). In doing this he seems to have failed to understand the real import of Milton's work, which was to

"....assert Eternal providence

And justify the ways of God to men."

The really fundamental ideas set forth by Milton, the religious ardor of the poet in his Paradise Lost, Chateaubriand has failed to grasp.

Chateaubriand's translation of Paradise Lost is superior to Louis Racine's, which Chateaubriand himself considered the best of the preceding versions. "Racine poursuivait dans ses travaux un but moral et religieux" (Telleen, p.60-61) and he has therefore changed the text slightly "pour l'ajuster à sa religion". Though he admits a certain pleasure derived from the poetry of Milton as well as from the moral instruction, Racine is always conscious of the latter. Grimm has said of Racine's translation (Telleen, p.63): "elle peut être exacte, mais elle n'est pas française et malgré sa barbarie elle est sans génie". Whereas Chateaubriand's translation is generally exact, too, he has absolutely submerged his own

personality. We are aware of certain deficiencies, in this work and of the adverse criticisms of M. Boillot and of ^{M.} Dick; but we accept as a final word Telleen's statement (p.33) to the effect that "elle demeure malgré ses défauts la meilleure qui soit en prose dans la langue française." Be that as it may, Chateaubriand has been interested chiefly in the sublimity of expression, the external qualities of Milton's work. This is evident throughout all his criticisms, to some extent in the Génie and to a far greater extent in the Essai and finally in the actual borrowings from Milton.

To the question: "what did Chateaubriand take from Milton?", we may answer, "not very much". He did not take the subject of any of his works from Milton. Nor did he carry over into his works any of his ideas. In addition to the background of "merveilleux" which we have pointed out in Les Natchez and Les Martyrs, he chose certain items of color, ^{and} terms of brilliance, in other words, picturesque details. To Chateaubriand then, Milton is a storehouse of images, a repertory of mythology. Though he failed to understand the profoundly religious nature of Paradise Lost, Chateaubriand was aware of the beauty of its scenes and he, who wanted a literature inspired by Christianity, perhaps through Milton came to a greater

realization of the poetic beauty of the Bible.

Ossian's influence in an external way had been evident in all genres before the time of Chateaubriand, Bour-Lormian, who was, as ^M Van Tieghem has explained, incapable by nature of interpreting Ossian, translated him or rather imitated him; for by taking parts of the original and changing others, he disregarded much of the essential and omitted typical repetition and shades of meaning. His fluid and harmonious verse, alone, won the day for his imperfect translation of Ossian. Saint-Simon's translation also fell short, ^{that} in ^{the} author studied to find words that evoke images, in that he emphasized the movement and thereby exaggerated Ossian. Chateaubriand followed his contemporaries in reproducing in his works the various elements of Ossianic or Celtic "merveilleux" and the pervading and all enveloping melancholy which is occasionally interrupted by fits of frantic action. Probably because of his own Celtic ancestry Chateaubriand was the only one, of all his contemporaries and of all those interested in and influenced by Ossian, who understood him thoroughly.

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